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WHAT'S all this vocal shooting about in Congress in connection with the wool tariff? Ex-Senator Lippitt of Rhode Island says he didn't write the proposed high-duty clauses and Senator Lenroot says that he did. Well, if he personally didn't write them, they were written by the wool manufacturers' association in which Senator Lippitt is a leading figure. What the difference is we can't see, still less can we understand how anybody can get excited over the charge. In Heaven's name, what has been happening, lo these seventy years, in connection with our tariffs other than that the schedules have been written by those who were to benefit by them? "Step up to the captain's office, gentlemen, and tell us what you want," has been the slogan of the Republican Party after every election in which it was successful, and since the manufacturers raised the funds which bought the elections for it this was merely carrying out the Republican Party's share of the bargain. This time the manufacturer hogs have got not only their feet into the trough, but are trying to get their bodies in, which is a little bit too much even for some of the standpatters. Hence the "revolts" against the high rates dictated by the manufacturers. But when the whole bill is such a crime against America and a suffering humanity we believe that it makes little difference exactly where certain rates are fixed. And as for the proposal that we should have a scientific tariff commission, that hoary old humbug is trotted out once more merely to fool the public again. When the whole tariff rests simply upon greed and selfishness it is ridiculous to talk about science in connection with it.

ONWARD, Christian farmers! Now it is Manitoba in which these wicked agriculturalists have taken over the reins of government—class government, we grieve to say, with the grief which befits a newspaper published in a country which has never known government by Wall Street, by manufacturers, or by any section or class. The farmers having elected to the Manitoba Assembly 24 out of 52 candidates, with an even chance of gaining three more seats in deferred elections, Premier Norris is to resign and give to a farmer leader the right to form a Cabinet and conduct the government. Mr. Norris's group of 21 Liberals has been carrying on the administration for two years, although in a minority; there are now left to him only eight members. While the Conservatives have eight votes, Labor will have five. This is an augury for our own new Farmer-Labor Party; there are now four great Canadian provinces wholly or largely in the hands of the tillers of the soil. If that can be done across the boundary, and the North Dakota Nonpartisans can send Lynn Frazier to the Senate, we greatly fear that much will soon be done by grasping agricultural-labor groups in the United States who have the effrontery to wish to be heard in their government.

"RELIEF from our present imperialism can come only with the advent of a really progressive party"—thus Senator Ladd in an indictment of our foreign policy in Latin-America which might profitably be read by every American voter. What the Senator from North Dakota says about our bullying attitude toward Mexico and the obvious alliance of our State Department with financial interests is not unfamiliar to *Nation* readers. What cannot be said too often is that here, as in all fundamental matters, there is no essential difference between the two major parties. "Bumptious bullying" succeeded "watchful waiting" as our Mexican policy. Woodrow Wilson took us into Haiti, and Harding, despite his solemn pledges, keeps us there. Successive Republican and Democratic administrations sanction our strangling of Nicaragua in the interest of American bankers. When Senator McCormick in his whitewashing report on Haiti said of the Haitians: "They do not divide politically as our people do. The dividing line politically is between the 'outs' and the 'ins,'" he was in effect painting an accurate picture of our own political system. Never before has the time been riper for a third party that will spell service rather than spoils.

ONCE more a primary election in the West has resulted in the choice of a progressive Republican as candidate for the Senate instead of a standpatter. Mr. R. B. Howell, who has captured the primary nomination in Nebraska, is a progressive who has been seeking to purge his party of the disgrace of the bogus delegations of Southern Republicans to the national conventions. These venal groups of colored and white delegates have made easy in the past the purchase of nominations, as witness the career of Mark Hanna; yet when Mr. Howell obtained the appointment of a committee to revise the delegations and to reduce

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them to something approximating the votes in their States, Mr. Hays, it is reported, put the committee to sleep by loading it down with unfriendly or indifferent members. As between Mr. Howell and the oily and subservient Senator Hitchcock we sincerely hope for Mr. Howell's election. Yet we cannot believe that there is much hope for early radical change in the Republican Party by the occasional elections of Progressives. Something far more liberal and revolutionary is what the country requires.

THE most significant fact in the failure of Allan A. Ryan for $18,000,000 is the size of the loans granted to him by banks and trust companies. Known for years as one of the boldest speculators in Wall Street, he was finally forced out of the Stock Exchange. Yet the Guaranty Trust Company loaned him $4,000,000, the Chase National Bank gave him $3,456,429, and the Mechanics and Metals National Bank $1,402,963 to gamble with. Of course these loans were based on collateral but in the case of the $3,456,429 loan the value of the collateral is reported to have shrunk to $667,756. Now every banker, being human, is liable to err in accepting collateral; but the salient fact remains that Mr. Ryan was known as a most daring plunger. Why should reputable institutions give any support to such a man? Some time ago, when the farmers were unable to get the loans they needed, the charge was openly made, by John Skelton Williams if we recall aright, that the Federal Reserve system was lending its funds to banks in New York which were in turn lending them to stock speculators. The charge was indignantly denied. Now the Ryan failure would seem to lend some color to at least part of the charge. Perhaps it will hasten the day when our strongest institutions will exercise a keener censorship over their Wall Street loans, eschew wholesale speculators, and interest themselves in the smaller and more reputable business men who so often find it extremely difficult to get small loans while the Allan Ryans go off with a cool four millions from a single trust company.

THE bankers whose advice the French Government so unceremoniously rejected six weeks ago are having their revenge. Poincaré, the bitter-ender, the man who ousted Briand for making pigmy concessions to Lloyd George, is now talking reduction of the German debt. What that means in French politics is hard to realize. There is still a group of bitterer bitter-enders led by our old friend André Tardieu, but Poincaré's defection from his arrogant insistence upon the letter of the treaty is an event in the history of Europe. To be sure, he is offering his surrender on terms, and terms of interest to Americans. He says that if France abandons the German payments due her England and America should abandon the French payments due them. England is ready; the United States should follow. If Poincaré asks a military guarantee from this country he should receive so prompt and plain a "no" that the suggestion would not be repeated. But it is clear that if France has to pay for her own reconstruction, giving up hope of big or early reparations payment, America cannot act as a harping creditor demanding payment of her debts. There will be details to discuss, but if Europe is to be set straight all must make sacrifices. Despite the revival of isolationism, Mr. Harding would probably gain prestige if he were boldly to set this situation before his countrymen. If Poincaré really wanted to help Mr. Harding in the difficult task of converting his country, a heavy reduction in the army of occupation on the Rhine would be his first step.

UNQUESTIONABLY the intense reaction of the German masses from the horror of the assassination of Dr. Rathenau has strengthened the republic. The arrogant German Nationalists and their press have had to tune their utterances to a different key. A parliamentary crisis has been put off to autumn, the socialist parties are working together as they have not been since the revolution, the Government has begun to weed out of its service men of pronounced monarchist or aristocratic sympathies, and the special legislation introduced immediately after the Rathenau murder has gone through although it was prophesied that it would fail. This extraordinary measure we reprint in the International Relations Section of this issue of *The Nation*, not, however, without stating our fear that in this legislation the Wirth Government has gone too far. It is its right to take active measures to protect ministers from cold-blooded assassination, but extremes of punishment never accomplish anything. At best the Wirth Government has only won a breathing spell. Its fate depends upon economic conditions—and upon the Allies. The proposed scaling down of the indemnity by 82 billions would strengthen Wirth's hands tremendously. But the grave danger confronting Germany is set forth by Hans Kramer, vice-president of the German National Economic Council of Employers and Employees, who declares that by September there will be two millions of unemployed in Germany because there will not then be the capital to pay the wages which will enable the workers to live. If this prophecy comes true by midwinter Germany will be in chaos. We trust it is mistaken and believe that the now assured moratorium will help to avert the unemployment peril.

ANYTHING that makes for the improvement of our relations with Canada deserves acclaim. Hence we express our most cordial gratitude to the new Premier of Canada, MacKenzie King, for his recent conference with Secretary Hughes with a view to revising and bringing up to date the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817, which for more than a century has kept Canada and the United States at peace because of the complete disarmament along our border. That notable achievement in the relations between nations which would certainly have been at war with one another long ago had the frontiers been lined with forts, the Great Lakes filled with fleets, and our respective cities full of troops, points the way for all the world and proves that such is the safest way to avoid international trouble. Mr. MacKenzie King may be sure that his efforts to modernize and reinforce the most notable peace pact in the world will meet with genuine and cordial response on this side of the boundary. Americans must rejoice, too, that last week saw the settlement of the long-standing Tacna-Arica dispute between Peru and Chile by the successful arbitration at Washington. That, also, is a notable demonstration that even the most difficult of boundary questions can be settled without recourse to arms. While we can hardly agree with Secretary Hughes that this is "the greatest step forward in the interest of peace which this hemisphere has witnessed"—we seem to remember his using similar language about the Four-Power Treaty and regarding the limitation of naval armaments—we are most

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happy to testify to the admirable part Mr. Hughes himself played in ending the deadlock among the arbitrators, all the more happy since we must so often criticize him.

THERE is food for thought upon the ancient glories of trust-busting in a wee letter from Mr. Whidden Graham recently printed in the correspondence columns of the New York *World:*

> Thursday, July 13, the Standard Oil Company and other oil interests announced an increase of 25 cents per barrel in the price of fuel oil. Friday, July 14, the Standard Oil Company and other oil-refining companies announced a reduction of 25 cents per barrel in the price paid to oil-producers. Now will some little boy or some little girl give the name of the great Republican-Progressive President of the United States who destroyed the bad Oil Trust?

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE is on the warpath again, and when he goes on the warpath there is always a kind of friendly fireworks which lights up national issues. He fights with a Kansas grin upon his face that makes it impossible for opponents to abuse him. This time he is out against the pretensions of the Kansas Industrial Court set up by his martial co-adventurer, Governor Henry Allen. The Court ruled that to post a placard expressing sympathy with the striking shopmen was picketing, and therefore a conspiracy to stop Santa Fe trains. Swaggering young militia officers paraded Kansas streets and ordered merchants to remove their posters upon pain of having their shops closed. Then up rose William Allen White and posted a placard in the show-window of the Emporia *Gazette.* 'An infamous infraction of the right of free press and free speech," said he. "If the Government desires to make a test case, here it is. It is not a question of whether men are right or wrong, but a question of the right of an American citizen, white and 21, to say what he pleases about the strike." Whereupon White was arrested. The case will come to trial in October. Meanwhile, a judge has laboriously explained that "Mr. White fails to distinguish between right and wrong free speech." If Kansas should really imprison William Allen White for speaking his mind the nation might wake up to the good old fact that free speech means neither right talk or wrong talk, but what the words used to mean before the war, *free speech.*

NEXT to the happy warrior William Allen White, our favorite hero of the day is Michael di Carlo, the butcher of Lynn, who shouted "Nolo" in court and established his right to use the sunny acres of his own estate for the shelter and amusement of workingmen and their children. Mr. di Carlo was a source of misery to his neighbors. In the first place, the very presence in Nahant of an unregenerate butcher constituted a sort of local bolshevik revolution to the minds of the older inhabitants who had devoted their lives to the patient task of making Nahant safe for the aristocracy. In the second place, Mr. di Carlo's gate, instead of bearing a sign reading: "Private: Delivery entrance on Marshmallow Lane," supported this invitation: "Any workingman, regardless of creed, color, or nationality, can have a room here free for a week by applying to Mr. M. di Carlo." In the third place, he didn't keep his grass cut. In the fourth, he invited children by the tens and scores from the slums of Lynn to come to parties on his lawn and shout as loud as possible and listen to music and eat watermelon. Dirty children playing and shouting in the sunshine of Nahant: such an idea was disgusting; it was coarse; it was positively incongruous. Butcher di Carlo was haled into court, society gathered to watch the collapse of this proletarian revolution, but di Carlo said firmly "I plead nolo," and the revolution was saved. Revolutions are tough on the upper classes.

THERE could have been no better unofficial ambassador from Japan to the United States than Dr. Jokichi Takamine, who died in New York on July 23. One of our most distinguished chemists, the discoverer of adrenalin, which makes possible bloodless surgery in minor operations, and takadiastase, used for starch digestion, Dr. Takamine showed not only that Japanese are assimilable but that they may be relied upon to make distinct contributions to our Western civilization when they come to live among us. Dr. Takamine was an exceptional man. He was not only a great scientist but a business man of rare ability. Thus, he introduced into Japan dye works, alkali works, aluminum, fertilizer, and soda works, and founded there as in this country great pharmaceutical works and chemical and physical research laboratories. His own laboratories in the United States, where he also founded large companies, were productive of great good and were financially remarkably successful. For friendly relations between Japan and the United States he labored unceasingly, founding both the Japan-America Society and the Nippon Club in New York, the chief dream of his extraordinarily useful life being a close union in friendship between the two countries. But for his modesty Dr. Takamine would have been known throughout our country as one of the foremost men in America.

AMERICA'S unbroken record of treaty-breaking with the Indians still holds. The Indian Rights Association has just called attention to the fact that in 1868 a treaty with the Navajo Indians promised a schoolhouse and teacher for every thirty children. In 1922 over 6,000 Navajo children are without any school facilities whatsoever. Nearly 21,000 children of all Indian tribes which are "wards of the nation" have no chance for the schooling which might fit them to take their rightful place in the country of their ancestors. As a little step toward fulfilling the treaty with the Navajos the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has requested the use of the virtually abandoned military reservation at Fort Wingate in the heart of the Navajo country. It can easily be converted into a school for 500 pupils. But the War Department has refused on the ground that certain high explosives are stored on the reservation. These, it is argued, need not interfere with the use of the fort as a school. It is perhaps too much to expect a military bureaucracy to let education interfere with explosives but somehow we think President Harding might take a human point of view of the matter. It even occurs to us that the explosives might be stored in some other of our superfluous military reservations.

"SECRETARY DENBY Falls 4,000 Feet in Airplane over the Chinese Wall."—Newspaper headline. Yes, but President Harding is falling still further and much more rapidly, over the Chinese tariff wall his party seeks to erect in America.

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"Force Cannot Override Justice"

HISTORY, or legend, records that wise old King Canute, when his courtiers told him he was all-powerful, had his throne set on the sea-beach and bade the waves turn back. The waves rippled on and wet his royal foot. We wish we could believe that President Harding had the wisdom of Canute, and that his invitation to the coal operators to reopen their mines regardless of the strike was intended as a wise and gentle lesson to the shrill advisers who assured him that the way to end strikes was to call out the troops and start mining. We wish we could believe that following upon his gesticulations with the troops President Harding would suffer a change of heart, like unto wise old King Canute, of whom the encyclopedia chronicles: "After 1020 the character of Canute's rule underwent a remarkable change. Mildness was substituted for severity, and respect for the laws of violence. The ancient customs of the country were confirmed and . . . the mass of the people . . . prospered." But we have our doubts.

For a survey of President Harding's policy in the face of the two tremendous strikes that threaten the industrial life of the nation makes plain that he has outdone the famous Wilsonian Wiggle-and-Wobble which so disgusted good Republicans. Not to go back into the ancient history of the first three months of the coal strike, let us take as a hasty summary the headlines in the New York *Times:*

July 1: Harding Will Urge Lasting Coal Peace
2: Harding Warns Coal Disputants the Public Demands Settlement
5: Harding Declares Right to Work Must be Upheld
11: Harding Proposes Coal Peace Plan
12: Harding Proclaims Trains Must Run
15: Harding Threatens to Take Over Mines
15: Washington is Hopeful of Peace
16: Miners Reject Harding's Peace Plan
17: Bituminous Group Balks at Harding's Peace Offer
18: Harding Tells Coal Operators to Reopen Mines
19: Harding to 28 States: "Protect Mining"
21: Harding Pledges a Coal Commission
22: Harding to Act for Rail Settlement
23: Harding at Work on Rail Peace Plan
24: Harding Urged to Start Coal Inquiry

And still the strikes go on. Passenger trains are being dropped, freight schedules are slowed up, steel mills are shutting down, householders are beginning to wonder whether there will be any coal at all with which to heat their homes next winter. Mr. Harding "will urge," "warns," "proposes," "proclaims," "threatens," "pledges," and at the end of the month "is urged to start." When the miners suggested modifications in his mine peace plan, making the settlement national and dependent upon expert report (it is sometimes forgotten that these were their only conditions), Mr. Harding, like the New York *Times,* classed their answer as a rejection, and turned futilely to force.

Mr. Harding must have known that his appeal to the operators to reopen their mines was an appeal to reopen on their own terms, without agreement with the miners, and that his elaborate invitation to the State governors to protect them in such a resumption was an invitation to the States to take sides in the dispute. He richly deserved the rebuke given him by Governor Ritchie of Maryland:

> I feel that at this time I should not subscribe to the assumption that all things else have failed and that the various States must give assurances which might lead them to take up arms against their own people. . . . *The presence of troops is often not the assurance of security but the provocation of serious trouble.* [Italics ours.] . . . I venture to urge with the greatest respect that you renew your efforts to adjust in a proper and peaceful way both the railroad strike and the coal strike.

The suggestion of flooding the coal-producing regions with troops was not only an attempt to prejudge the dispute; it was not only a dangerous provocation, as Governor Ritchie suggested; it was utterly futile. When men are unorganized and uncertain of their rights they can be cowed by the use of force, but men like the miners, organized, determined, skilled workmen who cannot be replaced by the offscourings of the ports or by Negro hands imported from the South, can only be exasperated by such bullying partisanship. They yielded to brute force once, three years ago; they will not do so again. The Illinois operators who reported that there was "absolutely no possibility of resuming coal production under President Harding's plan" wisely realized this. The Eastern operators who are attempting to reopen their mines with unskilled non-union labor gleaned from the shifting ranks of the unemployed, have not learned that force is ultimately futile. They are using the troops to break up miners' meetings, to drive out tent colonies of miners' families which they had already ejected from company-owned homes, in general to bully the miners. They will reap the harvest of their foolhardiness.

For one of the most significant aspects of the present strike has been the readiness of the workers to adopt the methods which have been used against them. The scorn for law and order manifested in Mr. Palmer's "Red raids," in Southern lynchings, in Western persecutions of the I.W.W., in the rowdyism of the Ku Klux Klan, has passed on to the miners and railwaymen. Violence we have seen before but this year for almost the first time we find labor adopting the conventional tactics for making violence respectable. Masked mobs have appeared in California, in Ohio, and in Georgia, expeditiously seizing imported strike breakers and deporting them just as union men have been deported in the past. The miners who attacked and burned the non-union mine tipple at Cliftonville, West Virginia, marched with the American flag flying. These acts have not been authorized or approved by the union leaders, but they have occurred with significant spontaneity at widely scattered points. Public opinion does not cry out; it knows too well that these are but new links in a long chain.

Hence the menace of President Harding's appeal to force. It deepens the cleft that is opening in the nation. It almost invites reprisal. It encourages those who preach that the Government is inevitably on the side of profit-seeking capital. It discourages those who still hope to discover peaceful methods of handling industrial disputes. We do not often agree with Samuel Gompers, but he is right when he says that "force cannot override justice in the United States. . . . The only method by which coal mining can be resumed is agreement between the miners and owners upon terms deemed fair and just by both sides." If Mr. Harding, instead of inviting force in the mine-fields, should closet himself with the miners' leaders and the big mine operators, and announce that he would stay with them, night and day, until they agreed, he would be less like Canute bidding the waves be still, and more like Canute after the year 1020.

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Reaction in Ireland?

IF the lamentable civil war in South Ireland ends in a victory for the Free State troops, will that mean the triumph of "white reaction" in Ireland? Elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation* John E. Kelly tells why he thinks it does and suggests that this is due to British force and cunning combined with the failure, perhaps the treasonable failure, of leaders in whom the Irish people trusted.

Those who are persuaded that the Irish Republic is a sacred cause blessed by a kind of divine sanction can never accept any act which seems to compromise that cause. Those to whom the guiding principle is the right of the people to determine their course as best they may in the light of existing conditions will accept what the people indorse. The latter is *The Nation's* position. It is alleged that the Free State is not the people's choice, even as a compromise, but we see little evidence to support that contention. Negotiations arose when military affairs reached a stalemate. Mr. De Valera, himself the author of a plan falling short of full independence, knew that Lloyd George would not consider absolute independence and appointed as negotiators the leaders who, Mr. Kelly tells us, were never thick-and-thin Republicans. There was no public protest. The treaty they negotiated was ratified by the Dail and apparently emphatically indorsed by the electorate. There is no more proof of the republican charge that this election was "engineered" than of the older tory charge that the earlier Sinn Fein triumphs won on the same register were the result of coercion.

This victory for the treaty was no reason to cease Republican agitation among the people of Ireland. The Ulster situation would have helped the Republicans. The new constitution had obviously weak features. But the Republicans preferred military defiance to agitation. Surely a victory won by an army fighting against the vote of the people, no matter how idealistic that army, would have meant a reverse for democratic progress. The Moderates did have British support and used British supplies but their victory rather seems fundamentally due to the support they had first won from the people. The Labor Party and other progressive groups have not found the Republicans more sympathetic than the Free Staters. That does not mean that Mr. Griffith is not an ultra-conservative economically and socially. He is now; he was when he was high in Republican councils. So are many men who are still Republicans. From the beginning the revolution was national and political rather than social. It was directed against British tyranny and had the allegiance both of social revolutionaries and of social conservatives. Ireland, as a Republic or as a Free State, would have been forced to face the conflict in interest between peasants, large landholders, and landless workers, and would have been divided on the issue.

Some let-down from revolutionary exaltation was inevitable. It is characteristic of humanity that the ardor of revolt should be followed by a weary adjustment to settled conditions. The revolutionist will always be doomed to relative disappointment until he can discover a weapon which is not, like the sword, essentially reactionary. The open revolt of the more progressive Republicans will give them a place on Ireland's long martyr roll; it will not, we fear, help them to be the leaven they should have been in the emerging new Ireland.

Immortal Words

WORDS enough have been blown away by the wind and never come back, but then so have men enough. Which of them, words or men, are after all most nearly immortal? Though we do not know in what syllables the first men screamed their hunger or hissed their love or roared their anger in the tree-tops, neither do we know what men they were or where they lived. There must have been words which lasted long among them before any one ever thought of writing a word down to keep it. The moment a word finds a comprehending ear it takes a new hold of life, and a powerful word may prosper there and be sent on to other ears and a still larger prosperity until it has actually outlived the thing it was first meant to utter and may have an existence almost of its own. Whisper a bit of scandal, for instance, in some echoing small town and see what happens. Even though it is untrue it can travel as fast as if it had all the weight of truth behind it. To recall it is impossible. Here or there it will find lodgment where no correction can ever come, thoroughly as the victim may justify himself, because the word was there before the fact. To call an enemy bad names is better warfare than is commonly admitted. They do hurt, at the impact and in their consequences. The community at large, the race at large, has no time to revise its impressions, because new ones are constantly pressing upon it and it is busy with them. It cannot lay unquiet ghosts but lets them wander without burial. In their way words are immortal, and we do not know whether men have any better way of surviving the moment of death.

Good words, of course, endure too. The saints have their fame as well as the sinners, as those critics find who try to revise the fame of either. It is with enduring words that mankind continues its heroes in their high places and its gods on their thrones. A few words about Washington, for instance, and he was endowed with a reputation for truthfulness which will never desert him, though the words about the cherry-tree and the hatchet were invented. A few words about Alfred and he was endowed forever with a homely legend—he and his cakes—which persists even beyond the honor of his greater deeds. Virgil, from being a poet who was candidly of this world, through vague rumor came to be thought a wizard, and his name resounded through a thousand years of wonder. There have been gods who, once called good, have been called good for ages though in the meantime it has come about that the qualities in them which gave them their reputation have ceased to seem good to the men who still worship them. Words outlast things. This is the secret of legend and tradition. The creative faculty of the race or nation, having words for tools and materials, can build a legend around a very little truth as a village builds gossip around a whisper of scandal, and can perpetuate it because words have about them so much that is perpetual and so little that can be recalled once they have taken to their careers.

And of course it is the distinctive words which most emphatically survive, as with men. A crisp phrase can lead hosts to death when a sounder statement would leave them cold. It seems hardly too much to say that a verbal trick so simple as alliteration may alter the course of civilization. "My country, *r*ight or *w*rong"; "*F*ifty-*f*our-*f*orty or *f*ight"; "Re*m*ember the *M*aine"—how much these catchy

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phrases have done or almost done to shape the movement of America! What has it not done for England that some one called her sons "the *b*oys of the *b*ull-dog *b*reed"! What has it, at the same time, not done to help friendship between England and America that "John" and "Jonathan" suggest cousinship so easily! There was the strength of tons of dynamite in the twin initials of the phrase "Italia irredenta." There were wars implicit in the intimate antithesis between the "Cross" and the "Crescent." "Hassgesang" acquired a fresh malevolence when it left the German to enter English with the more pointed title "*H*ymn of *H*ate." There is magic in the near-alliteration of "La *B*elle *F*rance." A man's resolve is heightened when he says he will do a thing with "*m*ight and *m*ain"; he takes tighter hold on fact when he thinks of the difference between "*s*ound and *s*ense" or between "*r*hyme or *r*eason"; he owes part of his ordinary conception of marriage to "*b*ed and *b*oard"; he lets himself be bored at banquets because he has heard of "the *f*east of reason and the *f*low of soul"; he suffers singular confusions from the emphasis which he hears in the contrast between "*l*iberty and *l*icence." And these are but the simplest instances of the manner in which words live on in their own right, doing their work with no more help from things than any other spook.

The Impersonal Editor

THE news of the death of Charles R. Miller, for forty years editor of the New York *Times*, will undoubtedly come as a surprise to many of its readers who have known neither of Mr. Miller's existence nor of the *Times's* having an editor-in-chief. That this suppression of his personality was at Mr. Miller's own desire is probable. Whether through modesty and shyness, or because he felt that the editor of a powerful daily should merge his identity in that of the newspaper he served, Mr. Miller rarely appeared in public, almost never signed an article, and, so far as we can recall, had not in decades written for any other publication. He was, therefore, known to very few outside of his clubs, and his social and public contacts were more and more limited as old age came to him. This probably had much to do with the increasing conservatism of the *Times* and its inability to understand or adequately to assay many of the political developments of late years, such as prohibition, woman suffrage, and the efforts to widen popular control of legislation and the judiciary. In his younger days an ardent champion of the reforms of the type that marked the Cleveland epoch and at his best a powerful writer with a clear and straightforward style, one gradually came to think of Mr. Miller as a sage in a watch tower observing the battle from afar and conjuring from within his own personality his views as to what the people wished or favored. That he at times profoundly influenced a considerable section of public opinion and had the esteem and devotion of his circle of friends is beyond doubt.

All of which brings up once more the question as to what should be the policy of the editor of a great daily. Ought he to subordinate himself completely in the service of an Ochs, a Hearst, or a Northcliffe? Or does he owe a duty to the public to let himself be known to them so that they may judge what manner of a man he is personally? A third possibility, the policy of an editor-owner of the Hearst type to exploit himself for political and circulation purposes, is, we believe, outside the pale of discussion. When an instance like that takes place it becomes, whether in England or the United States, a menace to the public weal, softened in America at least by the fact that here are no prime ministers seeking to fortify their hold on office by the bestowal of baronetcies and peerages. As for the main question, we are clearly of the view that in America there does rest upon the editor an obligation to let himself be known. There can certainly be no doubt that the wider his contacts, the more groups of our cosmopolitan populations he comes to meet, the greater must be his usefulness to the entire community. It is, of course, true that Mr. Miller's way is the easiest and most comfortable. The editor who steps from behind his professional anonymity lays himself open to public attack and becomes subject to that same searching criticism of which he is usually a past-master. He must be ready to take his own medicine even though he never be a candidate for office and be as free from personal ambition and self-seeking as was Mr. Miller. In this matter we must once more turn to the *Manchester Guardian* for an example. Mr. C. P. Scott's recent celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his service with that truly great daily brought him a tribute of respect and regard from all classes of the public so extraordinary as to have convinced any dozen editors, could it have been divided among them, that their lives and labors had been well spent. Yet Mr. Scott never took office nor accepted political honors; he has been above taking a handle to his name. But he has done his job by day and by night so well that respect for his character and public service is universal even among those who disagree with his fundamental philosophy.

Mr. Miller, the *World* tells us, was the first of the generation of impersonal American editors to succeed the great personalities in our editorial rooms like Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Edwin L. Godkin, and Samuel Bowles. But the disappearance of great editors is due to something far more important than the desire of writers here and there to efface themselves; it also has to do with the conditions of their employment, the character of their employers, and the changes in newspapers themselves from organs of opinion to great business machines. There is a tendency in some of these business enterprises absolutely to efface all personality in any of their employees. Where that takes place it affords another indictment of a press which today hinders progress instead of helping it. We do not despair altogether of the return of real journalistic leaders; when the revival of American liberty and liberalism comes to pass, as it certainly will, there will be vivid and powerful personalities (such as we have today in the Yiddish press) ready to enter the English-language sanctums; and if owners like Mr. Ochs find that their public want men of this type and not ultra-conservative, elderly respectables, the doors of those offices will swing wide. The profit motive will then surely open the editorial pages to men attuned to the old American ideals but filled with the passion of restoring our allegiance to them in a new setting. They will be as keen as Mr. Wilson was when he wrote his discarded and forgotten "New Freedom" really to bring new opportunities and new liberties to America, to abolish the rule of special privilege, and to end the heartless exploitation of the masses of America by those in the seats of the mighty, an exploitation which everywhere darkens our business and our political horizon. Its portents Mr. Miller could only note and then discover and interpret in their true light.

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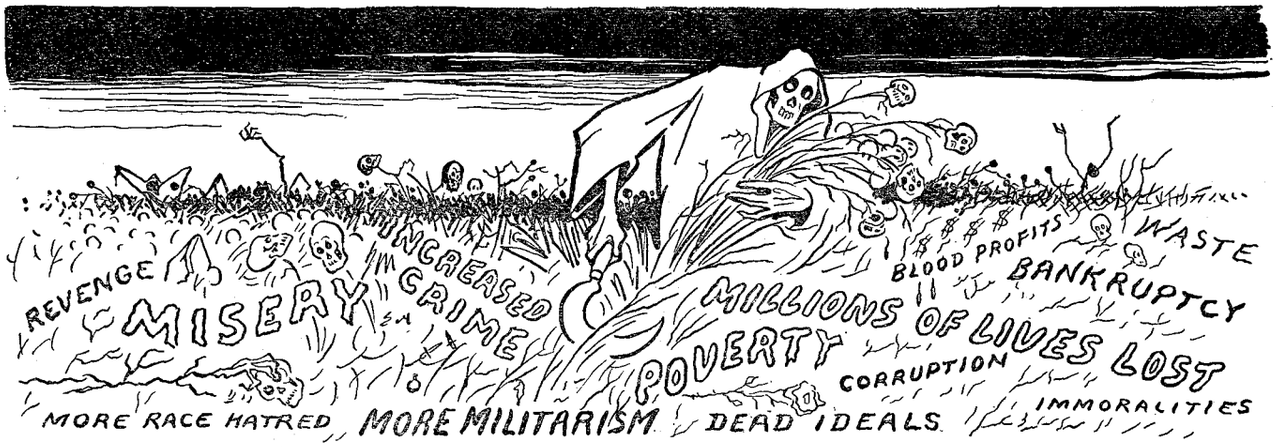
Looking On *by* Art Young

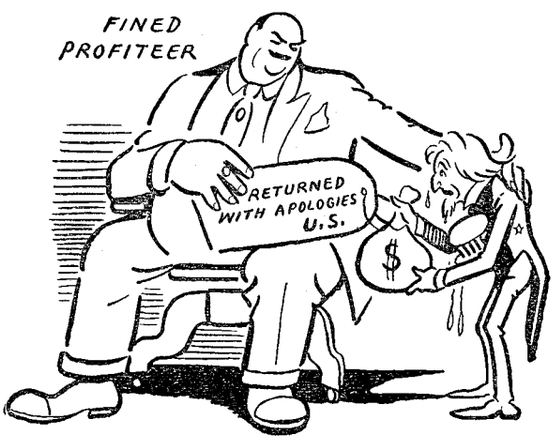
THE HARVEST—AUGUST, 1914-1922



ALLIANCES

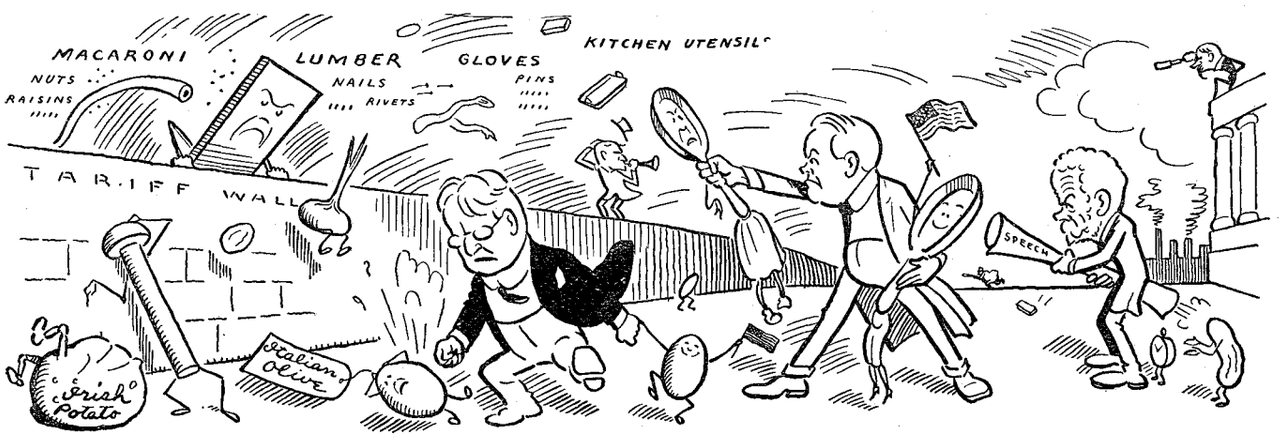
Recently President Gompers proposed a bloc between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. Just now another alliance seems likely to make more headway.

"ALL RIGHT, SAM, I NEVER REALLY MISSED IT, BUT I LIKE YOUR SPIRIT"



A bill has been introduced in the Senate to give back the fines of the war profiteers found guilty of hoarding food under the Lever Law. As for the scoundrels who thought the war was "commercial" let them stay in jail a while longer.

THE SENATORS' GALLANT DEFENSE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIES



Some of them propose to fight it out on these lines if it takes all Summer. The consumer will show his patriotism by cheerfully paying higher prices.

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Germany, 1922

III. In the Occupied Territory

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THE first thing to be said about conditions in the occupied territory along the Rhine is that they are steadily getting worse so far as the relations between the Germans and the French garrisons are concerned. There is complete social separation between the officers and those among whom they are quartered, and the gulf between them grows steadily. The situation closely resembles conditions in our Southern States at the close of the Civil War, for at that time the Northern officers were sent to Coventry by those with whom they would naturally have associated. For the increasing ill-will in the Rhineland there are various reasons. No foreign garrisons are ever really liked by those upon whom they are quartered, not even our American soldiers despite the fact that they are marrying German girls—Will Rogers, the cowboy humorist, says that those of our soldiers who are still in Coblenz are being kept there because two of them have not yet married—and are much more agreeable to the Germans than any of the other garrisons. It is simply impossible for any group of conquerors to be a source of pleasure to the conquered among whom they are quartered, as witness, again, the bitter hatred of our marines in Haiti and Santo Domingo, to say nothing of the Philippines. Then the temperamental differences between the Germans and the French are making themselves felt and some of the French commanders seem bent on humiliating the Germans and making life just as difficult for the civil authorities as possible.

Thus, there is endless time lost over trifling things which rasp the nerves, but are themselves of no importance. To cite a specific case, in one town there is an ordinance forbidding the presence of dogs in the market-place on market days. On one such day a cook doing the family marketing appeared with a dog and defied a policeman who ordered her to take the animal away. "This," she said, "is a French officer's dog and he may go where he pleases and do what he wants to!" The policeman served a summons only to be summoned himself before the French military government for action contrary to the prestige and authority of the French garrison. Thereupon the German civil authorities intervened and three days of official time were wasted on the case of this one miserable Snarleyow. The regular French authority conveniently took a three days' leave, turning the matter over to a substitute who was—*the owner of the dog!* Needless to say the policeman was severely rebuked for daring to interfere with the liberty of action of a French dog. Now if this is an extreme case it is none the less typical and, as always, these little pinpricks do more harm than honest differences on major issues of policy. Sometimes the friction arises out of purely economic conditions; thus on market days the German housewives have to stand by and see the French householders purchase the best things in the market and run up the prices of all necessities because the favorable stand of the franc over the mark gives the French such a great advantage over the Germans. Now I am free to say that if the case were reversed and the Germans were garrisoning part of France in peace time I believe that they would be at least just as trying as their French overlords are today (some Germans said to me: "We should be worse") because bureaucracy in Europe is the same everywhere and military arrogance and unfitness to rule over civilian populations are limited to no single nation. But this fact does not make the rule of a French army any easier to bear. In another article[1] I have already quoted some leading German pacifists as believing that if the French stay five years longer in Germany there will be war even if the Germans have to fight with their bare fists. These pacifists have come to this opinion after personal examination of the conditions in the occupied territory. The steadily growing friction is what arouses their fears and leads them to put forth their best efforts to prevent another catastrophe. They agree with me that it is not their military defeat which rankles now or has ever rankled with the German people, but certain events since their surrender. It is not a desire for revenge, or a desire to reconquer Alsace-Lorraine and their lost colonies that fills the minds and embitters the spirits of multitudes in Germany, but the desire to be free from a superlatively distasteful overlordship and to work out their own destiny in their own way without the control of overbearing foreigners.

This of course leads up to the so-called "black horror of the Rhine." It is far from easy to write about this subject. There has been an enormous amount of propaganda in the discussion of it, both in Germany and abroad; that sincere Germans admit freely, and the crime of this propaganda is that it has been almost wholly an appeal to race prejudice in America. For the first time, however, race prejudice has been injected into Germany at the expense of the colored troops who are certainly not there of their own volition but because, poor military slaves that they are, they go where their French military masters order without the slightest understanding of what it is all about. Our own General Henry T. Allen, commander at Coblenz, has recently joined those who have protested against the presence of troops of "lower civilization" in the Rhineland and hopes for the early removal of the 15,000 colored troops now on the Rhine. This is a marked change of position for him, for, just before Mr. Wilson retired as President and Mr. Harding came in (February, 1921), he filed a report with the War Department in which he minimized the charges against the black troops, his report giving the impression that all the charges were chiefly pro-German or anti-French propaganda. Whether our General has reversed his stand because another President rules in Washington or whether it is for other reasons is not quite clear.

I think, however, he was right in his 1921 report when he stated that the conduct of the colored troops is on the whole as good as could be expected of any troops on duty under similar conditions. Personally, I do not think that the burden of enduring the presence of a garrisoning army is much intensified by the light color of the French African troops. Crimes these Senegalese and Madagascans commit. The dead body of a girl who had been raped was found in an orchard while I was in Germany and two colored soldiers

[1] The first of this series in the issue of July 19.

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were arrested for this atrocity. On the 6th of April a Reichstag Deputy, Herr Korell, declared in Parliament that "blind rage is arising among the German people when innocent Germans are murdered. Lately quite a number of assaults upon German women by colored soldiers have again occurred." But such horrible crimes take place wherever there are single men in barracks among a foreign population, whether those troops be white or black and whatever the flag that flies over their barracks. Properly to judge whether there is undue criminality or not among the colored troops one would have to have reliable statistics as to how a similar force of white men would behave under similar circumstances. There are French officers in Germany who frankly tell the German women with whom they are quartered that Germany is better off with colored troops than with white since the former can be and are being held to stricter discipline than is possible to put in force with white French troops. In several towns I visited there were no complaints of sexual crimes, but the fact is, of course, that the troops are going about with white women precisely as our own colored troops did in France. In one hospital I saw three black babies whose mothers were German girls—one of the mothers is in prison for theft. Economic necessity drives many girls into relationships with French soldiers, white or black, and no duress whatever is needed to obtain young girls for the brothels which the French have established. The breakdown of morale throughout Europe and the enormous growth of prostitution make recruiting very easy.

These brothels have done infinite harm to the prospects of future friendship between the German and the French peoples. In the Palatinate and elsewhere they were established contrary to law, but the French generals took the ground that they were above the law and every municipality has had to obey orders (one mayor was removed by the French for declining to accede) and to turn people out of their homes in order to establish these resorts or to build new ones. Thus even small health resorts like Ems and Langenschwalbach have had to erect these institutions. The latter town has only 2,600 inhabitants. Dietz, with 3,100 inhabitants, has two such brothels. In two different towns I visited by request two of these horrible places and I know that I shall never get over the effect of what I saw with my own eyes. One was in a new building erected by a hard-pressed municipality, as it happened, almost alongside the graves of German and Russian and French soldiers (the American bodies had only just been removed) who died of wounds in that town, over whose graves the Germans have erected exactly the same handsome crosses. There are fifteen German girls in this brothel which had a separate entrance for civilians and one for the French soldiers. When I was there *more than sixty colored men were standing in line awaiting their turn.* Incredible as it seems these German girls receive from sixty to one hundred visits in a day around pay-day time—a condition of bestiality which bears little or no relation to the color of the visitors: some German men frequent these resorts as openly as the French troops. The girls are free to leave the houses, which are run by a contractor who pays a percentage of his profits to the municipality, at any time they wish to, and a constant exchange is going on. Despite bi-weekly medical examinations venereal disease prevails, the municipal authorities told me. The German women who called my attention to this particular house told me that nothing that had ever happened in their town had so stirred public opinion, but they added that they were compelled to ask themselves whether the sacrifice of these fifteen girls did not save the rest of them from the possibility of attack by the colored and white soldiers who, torn away from their families, are peculiarly subject to temptation. I was struck by the fact that these good women spoke very highly of the family life of the married French officers stationed among them, saying that they had never seen such consideration of women and children as these French gentlemen show. Nor did they express one word of bitterness and hate for the colored troops—only pity. But the stain of these things will not be wiped out for generations, and it does not help matters to retort that during the war the Germans established houses of prostitution in France peopled by French girls. One crime against humanity does not excuse another.

More immediately serious is the continuing French political intrigue against the Rhineland. They are making every effort to detach the Palatinate from its German allegiance and to set up elsewhere the Rhenish Republic which they have been fathering ever since the armistice. If Americans really want to know why President Harding has reversed his decision to remove all the American troops from Germany I believe that I can give them the information. It is not merely due to the fact that the Germans prefer American troops to French troops. The considerations which brought about the change in the policy relate to the political activities of the French, and it is an open secret in diplomatic circles that the Germans themselves did not wish the retention of our soldiers any more ardently than did the British and Belgian authorities in the Rhineland. I know of one case in which a Communist outbreak was inspired from French sources. At least, this is what the leaders subsequently confessed. Everywhere the German authorities work under most harassing difficulties, for their life would be hard enough if they only had to attend to the domestic problems confronting them without the control and interference of the French authorities. Such is the price they are paying. It will please our vindictive Americans, I am sure, to hear it, for I meet many Americans who ask me whether the Germans know that they are beaten and are willing to admit it and if they admit that they are ground down in the dust and properly licked. I should not have to answer these questions if the questioners were to visit the occupied territory.

As to the financial costs of the occupation they reached, up to the end of March, 1922, the enormous sum of 5,536,954,542 gold marks, which has to be replaced by the German Government when that money might have gone into the French treasury and the reconstruction of devastated France. Including direct expenditures made by the German Government about six billion gold marks were spent up to the 31st of March this year upon the unproductive maintenance of the occupying armies—French, British, American, and Belgian—that is, a liability for this amount has been run up. Some of the details of these expenditures are extremely interesting. The second article of the Rhineland agreement declares that the Rhineland Commission shall consist of four members. As a matter of fact it consists today of *approximately thirteen hundred persons*, the cost of whose maintenance between May 1, 1921, and the end of December, 1921, that is, for eight months, was 178,000,000 marks. The furniture of the apartment occupied by one of the seventy-five delegates in charge of a district has cost the German Government 464,116 marks, which would certainly

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have been much better invested in the city of Ypres or some other devastated town. So would the 802,000 marks which the Berlin Government has contributed thus far as its share of the building and maintenance of the brothels to which I have already referred. The French officers live well. They even have clubs furnished by Germany, in one of which a movable stage has been constructed at a cost of 75,000 marks for use when there are club entertainments. Personally I should prefer to see Anne Morgan's reconstruction work in France get that money. In Mayence it had cost Germany up to the end of 1921 no less than 3,035,624 marks to fit up the castle which serves as the residence of the commanding French general. When I remember what Lens and Loos looked like when I visited them in 1919 I heartily wish that that German money could have been put into the reconstruction of those cities in which hardly one stone rested upon another. Certainly if Woodrow Wilson were to visit the occupied territory today he would find plenty of evidence to reconvince him that he told the simple truth on January 22, 1917, when he declared that what the world needed was "peace without victory." This is also the time to recall the correctness of the prophecy he made on that day: "Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an *intolerable sacrifice*, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand."

The White Reaction in Ireland*

By JOHN E. KELLY

DURING Easter Week, 1916, Dublin witnessed the spectacle of a few hundred Irishmen, beleaguered in the General Post Office, defying for a week the might of thirty thousand British troops, equipped with siege guns and supported by gunboats in the River Liffey. The executions of the prisoners of war the following week completed the agony: the Republic was born. In June, 1922, in the seventh year of the Republic, Irishmen, who were but lately members of the Irish Republican Army, but now equipped with artillery, instructors, armored cars, gas bombs, and rifles by the British Government, half destroyed Dublin in their attack upon their former comrades who remained loyal to the Republic. The White Reaction had appeared in Ireland.

A close parallel may be traced with the progress of the French Revolution: the first triumph of the Republic, the deaths of the patriot leaders, the exhaustion and loss of interest of the peasantry, the waves of white reaction culminating in the First Empire. The real founders of the Irish Republic were those who proclaimed it in 1916 and died for their faith in the rising. There followed closely the deaths of Casement, McCurtain, O'Callaghan of Limerick, Clancy, MacSwiney, and others (James Larkin had previously been exiled by Kitchener) until the cause was represented principally by minor leaders and the commandants of the army. It is idle to speculate on the course of events had the founders retained control, but just as the removal of Danton, St. Just, Marat, Robespierre, and Hoche opened the way for Napoleon, so the deaths of the Republican leaders gave the Irish Moderate Party its opportunity.

Arthur Griffith is usually considered the founder of the Sinn Fein society, but the organization planned by Griffith was not a revolutionary body and he never desired an independent nation. He "did not give a fig for republicanism"[1] in 1912. When the Volunteer Movement was initiated in 1913 many Sinn Fein members including Griffith joined it. He has always sought exactly the relationship between England and Ireland that is represented by the Treaty and he has not scrupled to join hands with the English Government to prevent the winning of a greater degree of freedom.

In 1905 Griffith declared that Sinn Fein "disdained the use of physical force and that it was not republican."[2] In 1910 he announced that Sinn Fein would accept the Home Rule Bill as championed by John Redmond and thereby dealt Sinn Fein what was practically a death-blow. Griffith's ideal of the relationship between England and Ireland is the so-called "Hungarian Plan," which he outlined in an address to a convention of the Gaelic League in 1902. This would place Ireland nominally in the position of Hungary in the Austrian Empire, with a common king, but with control of the army, navy, and foreign relations centered in London. An Irish Parliament, modeled on that of 1782, with Lords and Commons, would sit in Dublin, but would be inferior in powers to the Imperial Parliament. This is far from the republican ideal, expressed in the words of Fintan Lalor:

> That the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the center, is vested of right in the people of Ireland; that they and none but they are the landowners and lawmakers of this island; that all laws are null and void not made by them; all titles to lands invalid not conferred and confirmed by them; and this full right of ownership may and ought to be asserted and enforced by any and all means which God has put into the power of man.

Griffith is not only not a modernist, but so far from it that he does not disbelieve in the institution of chattel slavery. He wishes to restore as near as may be the conditions of 1782 and Grattan's Parliament. With Grattan he believes that the earth belongs to the land-owning class and that the rest are merely passengers. His violent attacks on the strikers in 1911 and 1913 made him an object of hatred to the masses, and both Connolly and Larkin strongly opposed his anti-national and anti-republican stand.

The press with its invariable capacity for telling half truths dubbed the Republican and Volunteer movements "Sinn Fein" and as Griffith was the "Father of Sinn Fein" he became a leader willy-nilly. Yet his actions speak for themselves. In 1916, though a member of the Volunteers and pledged to take part in the rising, he went to hide instead and was not arrested until later. When the Irish Volunteers, the Citizens Army, the Workers Party, and Sinn Fein were merged in 1917 as a strictly Republican group, Griffith went along, though J. J. O'Kelly states that it was only after three days of persuasion that he was induced to accept the Republic. On November 26, 1920, Griffith was arrested "at his own request to protect him,"

* See editorial comment on this article, p. 113.
[1] "The Evolution of Sinn Fein," by Robert Mitchell Henry. [2] *Ibid.*

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according to an official statement of the British Government. While in prison, the Republicans managed through a daring ruse to drive a motor truck into the very prison yard to rescue him, but Griffith refused to leave. Lord Mayor O'Neil, another "white," also applied for British protection in 1920.

Michael Collins is an Irish Noske, the type of adventurer who appears comet-like during troubled moments of history and as suddenly disappears. His past is shrouded in a most suspicious obscurity, but it seems certain that he lived for a long period in London and at one time served in the British service. Many have regarded him as an *agent provocateur* and see in his present actions confirmation of their suspicions. When he appeared to volunteer for the Republican Army he came dressed in an officer's uniform. Collins took little or no part in the active fighting in Ireland, but was attached to the Irish Intelligence Bureau at headquarters. He joined and now heads the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood, an outgrowth of the I. R. B. of 1867, but which now is reactionary, like that French Republican Army described by Felix Gras which left Marseilles an orderly battalion of Reds and reached Avignon a howling mob of twenty thousand Whites, to the discomfiture of General Jourdan and Citoyen Rebequi. The oath of the I. R. B. binds its members to obey their superior officers above all other obligations, rendering it a facile instrument of the reaction.

Another powerful element of the White Reaction is the Roman Catholic Church, opposed now as ever (save in the time of Rinuccini, who indeed faced the bitter opposition of the Irish bishops) to freedom and progress of the Irish nation. Individual priests have played heroic parts, as did Father Roche in 1798, but the Roman machine has vied with England in antagonism and oppression. In every Irish rebellion, the church has been arrayed against the patriots. Cardinal Cullen outdid the English at the time of the Tenants Rights League, wrecking it by showing favors to the scoundrels known as the Pope's Brass Band. The hierarchy banned the Fenian movement in 1867 and fought the Land League bitterly.[3] The church took a leading part in banning the teaching of the Irish language and Irish history and also exerted its influence indirectly through the National Board of Education, the Archbishop of Dublin acting as censor on all textbooks and policies of the board. Cardinal Logue has attacked the Republicans unceasingly. Perhaps this attitude of the Catholic church is not strange. Greville in his "Memoirs" states that in the forty years of his service as secretary to the Privy Council only two bishops were appointed who were not either nominated or approved by the British Government.

The Republic was proclaimed as "Poblacht na h-Eireann," literally "Republic of Ireland." The Moderates had taken the oath of allegiance to the "Poblacht" and now sought a way to escape the consequences should it become necessary or desirable. To this end they proposed to change "Poblacht" to "Saorstat," alleging on the authority of Prof. John MacNeill that while of exactly the same significance it was purer Gaelic. But after the London conferences the Moderates claimed that they had taken the oath to the "Saorstat," and that the translation of "Saorstat" was "Free State." The official French text of the Irish Declaration of Independence, unanimously approved by the Dail on January 21, 1919, renders "Saorstat" as "République Irlandaise"[4] and the official English translation reads "Republic of Ireland." The evidence is clear that the Moderate Party were planning to destroy the Republic as early as 1919.

Professor MacNeill had been in command of the Irish Volunteers in 1916, failing utterly in that crisis and countermanding the orders for the general rising which would have supported the Dublin revolutionists. He gravitated naturally to the Moderate Party and in an interview with Austin Harrison of the *English Review* agreed to a "republic within the Empire" (1917). Before the Anglo-Irish truce of 1921 the English press instituted a campaign to represent Griffith and Collins as the brains and leaders of the Irish nation, with the evident and successful intention of forcing their selection as delegates to any future conference. Carl Ackerman in the *Atlantic Monthly* (April, 1922) intimates that he had part in booming the two.

The Irish delegates to the London conferences were Griffith, Collins, E. J. Duggan (Moderate), Gavan Duffy, and Commandant Robert Barton. They were instructed by the Dail to "explore the possibility of a settlement" and report their findings to the Dail. Instead they drew up and signed a treaty. The London *Nation* states that no progress was made until Duggan, Duffy, and Barton were excluded from the council chamber. Thereafter progress was rapid. Griffith and Collins were perfectly in accord with the English as to the form of settlement and, the details once arranged, the other Irish members were shown the draft and intimidated into signing under threat of an immediate and exterminating war.[5] The fatal weakness of De Valera in not arresting the delegates upon their return from London for violating their instructions placed Griffith and Collins in control of the Dail and the Provisional Government.

In a letter to De Valera just before the conference, Lloyd George, in defending his terms, declared that they would have been accepted by the leaders in 1848 and mentioned "well-known letters of Thomas Davis to the Duke of Wellington." Davis signed no letters to Wellington. There was in Ireland in 1848 a small group of men calling themselves Federalists, and Davis, wishing to develop them into nationalists, composed for them and in their name two letters to Wellington. The sentiments were not his, so little so that when published in the Irish *Nation,* Duffy, the co-editor, friend and colleague of Davis, attacked them. They do not appear in the standard collections of Davis's writings, and far from being well known, were unknown to Irish scholars in America. Lloyd George's ignorance of literature is notorious, while Griffith had just been editing a life of Thomas Davis. The inference is obvious.

Once established de facto, for to date the Provisional Government has no existence under either Irish or English law, the Moderates proceeded to destroy all traces of the Republic. Collins's first step was to abolish the Republican courts of arbitration and restore the British tribunals—this despite the fact that for years the sessions of the British courts had been deserted and even Unionist landlords had appeared as plaintiffs before Republican judges. Richard Mulcahy who succeeded the late Cathal Brugha as Dail Minister of Defense disorganized the Irish Republican Army and built up a Free State force, although he was bound under oath to maintain the I. R. A. He was left out

[3] "Fall of Feudalism in Ireland," by Michael Davitt; "Land War in Ireland," by W. Scawen Blunt.

[4] "L'Irlande dans la crise universelle," by Yann M. Goblet.

[5] Speeches of Barton and Duffy in the Dail.

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of the Cabinet of the Provisional Government expressly, after a debate in the Dail, in order that he and the I. R. A. might be ready for eventualities. The Republican military rank of commandant was done away with, and the Free State army of less than ten thousand men is commanded by nearly two score generals. The Free State forces are paid, the privates at the extraordinary rate of four pounds per week (privates in the regular British army in Ireland draw about eight shillings, one-tenth of the Free State pay) while the I. R. A. is a purely volunteer, unpaid organization. The Republican colors of green, white, and orange, representing all Ireland, all groups, and all religions, dating from 1848, have been changed to red, white, and green, acknowledging the English connection and, more important, abandoning the claim to Ulster.

Will the Moderates retain their present ascendancy? Time alone will tell, but history shows that White reactions are rarely long lived.

Visible Music: The Birth of a New Art

By GEORGE VAIL

THE discovery of linear perspective freed painting from its enslavement to the flat surfaces of medieval art and ushered in the glorious era of space-composition. Only through the creation of depth, of three-dimensional illusion, were the achievements of the great masters made possible. Are we about to behold the dawn of another emancipation of line and color—from the eternally static to the freely flowing, from the perpetually frozen to the infinitely mobile? Those who have fully grasped the significance of Thomas Wilfred's Clavilux will not hesitate in their reply. We are on the threshold of developments in the aesthetic treatment of line, of color, and of mass that literally stagger the imagination.

Here for the first time we see these three factors in unrestricted combination, treated as ends in themselves, blended with the deliberate purpose of producing visible music, just as rhythm, pitch, and tone-color are utilized in the creation of audible harmonies. Music has long been considered the purest of the arts, the only one able to dispense with outside assistance and speak directly to the soul of man. In poetry and prose, in painting and sculpture, the artist, in order to attain self-expression, must delineate or reproduce something *external* to his art. The universal message which he is striving to utter—and this is all that he really cares about—can only be written, as it were, between the lines of that representation of reality to which he is fettered. Music alone, in its purest form, is unhampered by limitations other than those inherent in itself. Is its monopoly of the Absolute, so eloquently proclaimed by Schopenhauer, to become a thing of the past? After witnessing a performance on the Clavilux, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that here we may have a new art form—that of mobile color—as pure and unconditioned, as limitless in its possibilities, as the medium of Bach and Beethoven.

What is the Clavilux and what does it do? Persons who have seen it in action, who have been thrilled and enraptured by the magic feast spread for their hungry eyes, laughingly admit an utter inability to express in words the impressions they have received. For this new art the old pat phrases and stereotyped analogies, so convenient when audible music is being discussed, are valueless. Consequently the Clavilux enthusiast is apt to be regarded as temporarily insane by those of his friends who have not attended one of these unique recitals.

Externally the instrument is a large oblong steel box with several apertures all of which focus on a single screen. It is played by means of a keyboard not unlike the console of an organ. At the mouth of each aperture is a series of delicately graduated color-slides; careful manipulation of these produces the most subtle and enchanting chromatic nuances. Behind the slides lies the secret mechanism, perfected after countless heartrending failures, which is responsible for the thematic material and its bewildering transformations, transformations the more incomprehensible by reason of their perfect naturalness and freedom from mechanical rigidity. Only a few favored individuals have been permitted a peep into this "holy of holies," and these few are not at liberty to reveal what they have seen. Mr. Wilfred is quite right in guarding his secrets against possible theft and debasement by unscrupulous commercial interests. (A well-known scientific journal, after vain attempts on the part of its representatives to obtain a glimpse of the cabinet's interior, has recently published a ludicrously erroneous explanation of the principle on which it operates.)

When I read of the Clavilux performances in New York it seemed to me inexplicable that the inventor should insist on dispensing with musical accompaniment, preferring that his compositions should be presented in absolute silence. When, several months later, I had the privilege of a lengthy conversation with Mr. Wilfred, imagine my astonishment at learning that this aesthete who disdained the assistance of music was himself an accomplished musician. It required only a few moments of his first Philadelphia recital to convince me how right he had been from the first in avoiding any intimate association of the two arts. Music is enlisted merely as an emotional preparation for the silent color compositions, just as in the overture or entr'acte it attunes our sensibilities to the mood of the impending drama.

The orchestra opens the program with a melancholy, exotic serenade, one of Rachmaninoff's lighter compositions but deeply tinged with his abysmal Slavic pessimism. Slowly the lights grow dim, the muted strains become fainter, then cease. For an appreciable interval we are left in absolute darkness, awaiting we hardly know what.

There is no sudden blaze of light, piercing the gloom like a trumpet blast. Instead, by almost imperceptible changes, the hitherto invisible screen becomes a stage for the play of vague, groping, half-defined shapes. Two gossamer-like curtains appear, their silken folds agitated by a breeze whose breath we do not feel. They are drawn to the sides of the frame leaving a central space free for the entrance of the theme. The latter emerges from below—some simple adaptation of a motif drawn from nature, but lacking the stiffness of most conventionalized forms. It proceeds upward, slowly, majestically, as though floating in a transparent fluid, and pauses at the center of the picture. Here the transformations begin.

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It is impossible to picture in cold print the beauty of these subtle metamorphoses which at times suggest the unfolding of a symphony, a sonata, a series of variations. A flowerlike motif enters as a simple green bud which gradually opens, revealing first the rosy outer petals and finally, in a delirious burst of maddening color, the blood-red heart of the blossom. Not a photographic reproduction of any particular flower, mind you; no effort is made to secure a literal representation of any existing forms. The intent here is much higher—nothing less, in short, than to isolate the aesthetic thing-in-itself, to present only those elements of visible reality which possess superlative pictorial value.

The blossom slowly closes, dwindles to a mere speck, or perhaps fades like a ghost into the misty depths of apparently illimitable distance. Throughout the treatment of the principal theme subordinate motifs or accompanying figures are playing their parts near the edges of the frame or behind the dominant subject. The background constantly changes; now it is a murky gray, like the leaden hue of an approaching tempest; now it reddens with the sinister glow of a great conflagration; now it is dissolved in the azure infinity of a cloudless sky. Episode succeeds episode—usually the same theme or themes, differently manipulated—then, all too soon, we become aware that the end of the composition is at hand. (Perhaps the most astonishing thing about these "color sonatas" is the ease with which one can follow their structural development.) Every technical resource is employed in one supreme, ravishing climax; then the vision fades, the screen grows black again and we awaken with a start as from an impossibly beautiful dream.

What is this power possessed by changing pictures of nothing in particular, to inspire or depress us, to infect us with nameless dread, to thrill us with pantheistic ecstasy? What is it, after all, but the spell of music, that fragile key which unlocks the doors of the subconscious, awakening dusty memories of ancient joys and sorrows? Strike a major chord on the piano and the sun shines; change it to minor and at once the sky is overcast. These are daily commonplaces, but when the medium changes and the miracle is wrought with light instead of sound the wonder of it all comes back to us with a rush.

At this stage of the discussion someone is certain to ask: Why has the development of mobile color lagged so far behind that of audible music? The explanation is simple. From a scientific standpoint the problems involved in imitating the sounds of nature are mere child's play compared with the immense difficulties which must be surmounted before the musical treatment of her visible beauties becomes possible. Twentieth century electrical research has paved the way for the Clavilux and its perfected successors.

Most of Mr. Wilfred's color recitals consist of four distinct but related compositions, differing in rhythm, treatment, and thematic material, and separated by brief intervals of darkness. During the Philadelphia series I used to amuse myself by designating the musical tempi of the various movements. The first was undoubtedly an Allegro Moderato, the second an unmistakable Andante. Then came a weird and mysterious Adagio, followed by a swift, exuberant Allegro Appasionata. This final movement was most wonderful of all. Two principal themes were introduced, one of them a strikingly beautiful figure rotating on a vertical axis—evidently suggested by the Maypole Dance—the other a simple vibrating column of light which seemed somehow to symbolize the very pulse of life.

Barring, of course, the occasional individual with nerves insensitive to rhythmic optical impressions—not necessarily color-blind but closely akin to the person who cannot "carry a tune"—I saw few who were not visibly moved by the Clavilux recitals. Tears stood in the eyes of some and there was an obvious effort on the part of others to disguise their emotions by forced merriment. After the spell wore off it was interesting to note contrasting reactions. Intelligent musicians, accustomed to the idea of a pure art, wholeheartedly welcomed this belated liberation of a sister muse. Painters as a rule displayed more caution, although there were a few notable exceptions. I shall not soon forget the enraptured visage of a prominent art teacher at the close of his first Clavilux recital. Some painters are secretly fearful of what the development of mobile color portends for the future of their own time-hallowed medium. Their fears, however, are certainly unfounded. Like the camera and the cinema, the Clavilux will eventually prove of enormous benefit to painting by forcing the latter to abandon provinces foreign to its nature and to concentrate in a field peculiarly its own. Photography has made unnecessary and futile the pursuit of microscopic realism; artists admit that the passing of the "subject" picture is due to the inroads of the cinema. In like manner the Clavilux and its successors will in time demonstrate to painters the futility of striving for effects which are obviously unattainable with a static medium.

Now that color music has at last arrived, it is easy for us to look back a few decades and note how the whole evolutionary trend of modern painting points unmistakably in this direction. Whistler's "Nocturnes" and "Arrangements" in various tonalities may now be recognized as marking the first self-conscious revolt against the age-long tyranny of subject. In more recent years the walls of our art galleries have fairly shrieked with the strange creations of Futurists and Post-Impressionists in whose pathetically futile cubes and splotches the hopeless uprising has reached its climax. For it *is* hopeless—this endeavor to escape from hampering reality into the world of pure art—so long as the medium is immobile painted canvas. So far as visible music is concerned, our Quest of the Absolute is likely to pass through the gateway opened by the Clavilux.

The youthful inventor of this instrument for the recreation of visible beauty—minus the non-essential detail which so frequently detracts from our enjoyment of unexpurgated nature—claims no great artistic value for his present recitals. Technically he considers himself a mere beginner, little more than a demonstrator who, having built the machine, is content to show us some of its possibilities. To him the present Clavilux is clumsy, old-fashioned, and obsolete. When we talk about the future of color music he wishes us not to forget the thirteenth century ancestor of our modern pipe-organ—a one-octave scale of enormous keys which were daintily played by vigorous bl ws of the fist! Plans have been drawn for an improved Clavilux which will permit more choice of thematic material.

Next season Mr. Wilfred hopes to train a small class of pupils. When these develop into finished virtuosi we shall be better able to gauge the instrument's responsiveness to the touch of different personalities. The future holds some electric thrills in store for us. Duets, trios, quartets—tentative sketches for these smaller ensembles are already in existence. Eventually, why not an orchestra?

(*Concluded on Page* 124.)

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MEXICO'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

THE work of stamping out illiteracy, which was undertaken by the University of Mexico about two years ago, has been continued, with amazing results, under the guidance of the Department of Public Instruction.

According to statistics from the Department of Public Instruction, more than 30,000 persons, most of them adults, that a year ago did not know the letters of the alphabet, have been taught how to compute, read, and write.

It would be comparatively easy for Mexico to stamp out illiteracy if it had at its disposal all the funds necessary to carry on a huge educational campaign. But its budget, although increased to 49,806,385 pesos, is not enough for the task of educating several millions of illiterates, if the Government attempted to do it solely at its own expense.

But the ingenuity of the Department of Public Instruction, and the patriotism of the educated Mexicans has furnished one of the most necessary elements, the teachers, who are being recruited among all those adults who are qualified to impart instruction and are willing to devote part of their time to stamp out one of the worst curses of their nation, the illiteracy of the masses. To all those who signify their intention to join the movement the Government is giving them diplomas as honorary teachers, and such teachers are furnished with all the necessary books and educational material needed for the purpose. Up to June, 1922, about 5,000 citizens had answered the call.

The work against illiteracy is organized by what are called, in Mexico, Cultural Centers, which are being established in every city and town of Mexico, and in the large cities several Centers are established in different sections. For example, in the City of Mexico from November, 1921, to February, 1922, twenty-five Cultural Centers were established.

Some of these Centers not only help the honorary teachers, but also impart instruction to the illiterates, that is, they also are rudimentary schools, and some have a large attendance. On February 28, 1922, these 25 Cultural Centers alone were giving instruction to 4,345 illiterates. In addition to the honorary teachers and Cultural Centers mentioned, a large army is being recruited to fight illiteracy. This army is composed of school boys and girls in the higher grades or classes who are willing to help their country by devoting part of their time to the instruction of one or more illiterates.

Just as the Boy Scouts movement was taken with enthusiasm by the boys and girls of the United States and other countries, so in Mexico a very large number of boys and girls with fervid enthusiasm have enlisted in the Students' Army which is to battle against ignorance, the old, old enemy of their land.

All the students of the higher grades in the public or private schools are eligible for active membership in the Students' Army and will be enrolled whenever they spontaneously file the proper application with the principal of their school, who in turn transmits it to the Secretary of Public Instruction.

The members of the Students' Army are, in each school, under the guidance of their teachers, and by secret vote they name a Vigilance Committee and appoint a leader for e group of ten members. The leaders are in charge of rep ing to the teachers the progress made, and the Vigila Committee coordinates the work of all the groups.

The Department of Public Instruction sends to each sc all the supplies needed, which are distributed by the lea among the young teachers for use in their work.

The work of the honorary teachers and of the meml of the "Ejército Infantil" simmers down to this, that ou love for his country each member of the crusade agai illiteracy shall choose, from those around him, one or m illiterates to whom the rudiments of knowledge are tau

Each honorary teacher, or each boy or girl of the St ents' Army who has taught to read and write at least illiterates receives a diploma which accredits him or he a "Good Mexican," and there are besides, special rewa such as scholarships for higher instruction, which h served to spur the interest of the New Crusaders. And in der to enlist the cooperation of the school teachers, whc fact are the directors of the Students' Army, several rewa are also destined for those who accredit the greatest s cess among its pupils.

Up to March, 1922, about 15,000 students had been listed and it is expected that 50,000 students will be cruited. With such an Army, it will not be long before the illiterates of Mexico will be routed, and with the help the honorary teachers, and of the advanced bulwarks agai illiteracy, that is, the rudimentary schools, the ignorant be converted into a body of educated and useful citizens.

The campaign against illiteracy is a new activity of Department of Public Instruction, and Mr. José Vasc celos, Secretary of the Department of Public Instructi considers it only as a temporary measure, for it only p pares adults for the further education they may receive the night or trade schools, and it will be abolished w illiteracy is stamped out, or when the rising generati which is being fully educated, reaches its mature age.

Another of the temporary measures of Secretary Vasc colos is the Department for the Education of the India

In Mexico there still exist a large number of unassimila Indians, some of whom do not even talk the Spanish langua Missionaries and ambulant teachers have been sent to Indian towns to educate the Indians, and there is in proj the establishment of a large center of Culture for Indians Michoacan. Natives of several Indian towns have been tored as teachers with splendid success, for they are atta ing the best results. They hold conferences, teach th brethren the Spanish language, show them how to read a write, and they are very powerful agents for the moral upl of the Indian communities.

Although the new Departments before mentioned, the D partment against Illiteracy and the Department for the E cation of the Indians, are very important, they do not rep sent the sole activities of the Secretariat of Public Instr tion, in fact they are not as large as the system of pub schools with which Mexico is equipped. These schools January, 1921, numbered 8,388, with a total enrolment

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out 700,000 pupils, and 18,000 teachers, of whom 12,000
e women and 6,000 men.

But in addition to the comparatively large number of pub-
schools, the Secretariat of Public Instruction has also
Kindergardens for small children
Normal schools for teachers
Commercial Schools
Domestic Schools for Women
The National School of Arts
The Faculty of Music and Theatrical Arts
Trade Schools and Colleges
The University of Mexico

And as auxiliaries to the cause of education the Secre-
iat maintains the following Departments:
The Department of Libraries
The Department of Breakfasts for School Children
The Department of Pensions and Scholarships

It would be beyond the scope of this article to describe
h and every one of the aforesaid schools and departments,
it is well to mention them all in order to give an idea
the tremendous work that the Mexican Secretariat of Pub-
Instruction is doing. Some of the schools mentioned are
old standing, others, like the University of Mexico, are
y old, in fact this University was the first established in
American continent, 50 years before the Pilgrims landed
New England, but some are newly established, and to
se the balance of this article will be devoted.

To the University of Mexico, which comprises the follow-
schools and colleges: The National Preparatory School,
e National School of Law, The National School of Medi-
e, The National School of Engineering, The School of
meopathy, and The School of Odontology, the following
e been added since 1921:

The College of High Studies
The Faculty of Chemical Sciences
The College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineers.

The College of High Studies is devoted to postgraduate
rses in Biology, Ethics, Philosophy, Art, Economics,
guage, etc.

n the College of Chemical Industries three courses are
en: that of Chemical and Industrial Engineer, Pharma-
tical Chemist, and Assayer. Mr. Julian Sierra, Di-
tor of the Faculty, recently came to the United
tes to make the purchase of extensive equipment
the laboratories of his College. It is worthy of note
t this College, besides its buildings for general class
ms and laboratories, has twenty pavilions, each one of
ch is a complete factory that actually produces goods for
market, and in which, not only the processes of manufac-
ng are learned by the students, but even the accounts and
s are conducted separately for the benefit of the students,
are the ones that run the small factories. Among the
ilions there is a soap making factory, a tannery, a glass
ory, a sugar refinery, etc., etc. The enrolment in this
ege is increasing rapidly, and among its students are
nerous workmen who have been sent by their employers
arn the trade and acquire skill. This is one of the most
ern colleges and has a very competent Director in Mr.
an Sierra.

he College of Mechanical and Electrical Engineers is de-
d to practical and technical education on mechanical and
electrical engineering; Mr. Miguel Bernard, Director of the College and a noted engineer and man of science, recently came to the United States, as Mr. Sierra, Director of the Faculty of Chemical Sciences, to purchase machinery for its enlarged laboratories. This College formerly was called the School of Trades and Arts (Escuela de Artes y Oficios), but it has been so transformed and improved that it hardly bears now any relation to the old School, and its enrolment is already up to its maximum capacity.

In addition to the aforesaid schools and colleges the Secretariat of Public Instruction has also established the following separate new schools in the City of Mexico.

The School of Constructors, devoted to teaching the art of building construction. The course given in this school must not be confused with Architecture, which is studied in the School of Arts or Civil Engineering which is learnt in the National School of Engineering of the University of Mexico. The course of School of Constructors is designed to give practical instruction or prepare men as skilled building constructors, foremen, or building contractors.

The School of Graphical Arts, which formerly had the name of "Industrial School of Jose Maria Chavez" has been reorganized and it now provides instruction for printers, linotype operators, type setters, photo-engravers, etc.

The School of Railroad Training gives practical courses in locomotive engineering, railroad shop practice, transportation and traffic management, etc. The courses are said to be very practical, and special trains are at times run for the benefit of the students.

The School of Textiles gives practical education on the manufacture of all sorts of textiles, such as those made of cotton, wool, ixtle and other fibres, which are produced in Mexico. Since the textile industry is one of leading importance in Mexico and it is destined to reach a great development, the training of men fitted to undertake work of that kind is of national consequence.

The National School of "Taquimecanógrafos" (Stenography and Typewriting) turns out competent office workers.

The new School of "Gabriela Mistral" is devoted to domestic arts for women.

And the Normal School of Technology is devoted to postgraduate courses for scientific and technical teachers.

This is a magnificent array of new schools, and if to them are added the efforts of the Department of Libraries, which has established a multitude of small libraries in many cities and towns for the use of adults as well as children. And it is observed that some of the schools are helped by the Department of Breakfasts which provides breakfasts in the schools attended by the children of the poor, who very often were observed to fail in their studies for no other cause than lack of proper nourishment, which fact decided Vasconcelos to undertake the establishment of said Department to correct the evil. And finally, if note is taken that the Department of Pensions and Scholarships has been of decided value in helping the bright and promising students to obtain an education abroad, it may be seen that the Secretariat of Public Instruction is doing work very short of marvelous, which is a Godsend for a multitude of children, adolescents, and adults.

For that work due credit must be given to the indefatigable and able Secretary of Public Instruction, José Vasconcelos, and to President Alvaro Obregon, who in the interest of public education has devoted a very large proportion of the national budget, a proportion which probably is larger than that of any other government in the world, to the furtherance of Mexico's most ardent desire, to stamp out illiteracy and build up a body of educated and useful citizens.

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To be sure, it would be rather ghostly to see a conductor beating time for the performance of inaudible music, but perhaps his physical presence could be dispensed with and the necessary synchronization—or should we say *synchromization*?—secured through some other agency. A system of notation has been devised, recording many silent compositions. In time a new literature will arise, textbooks on mobile color-harmony, counterpoint, and composition, treatises on the visual equivalents of sonata form, etc.

But even the primitive present has its compensations. The new art may still be infantile but it exhales an atmosphere of purity and other-worldliness which may be considerably polluted in days to come. Then we shall have a multitude of performers, some of them, inevitably, of gross mentality and perverted taste. If current fashions tell us anything of the public's color preferences, Mr. Wilfred may live to gnash his teeth over the harmonies (?) evoked from the seraphic Clavilux by earthly-minded followers.

Mississippi Replies

By BEULAH AMIDON RATLIFF

Following the publication of Beulah Amidon Ratliff's Mississippi: Heart of Dixie, The Nation *received a considerable number of adversely critical letters. Some were as long as the original article; many urged that in fairness to the State they should be printed. Obviously in a series such as These United States an adverse point of view about any State will evoke retorts from those who disagree, and it would be impossible to print them all. In the case of Mississippi, while intending in no sense to establish a precedent,* The Nation *has made an exception. It forwarded these letters to Mrs. Ratliff in order that she might reply to the charges of factual error. Her answer follows:*

TWENTY-SIX Mississippians have written criticizing my article Mississippi: Heart of Dixie. Four of these letters were so obscenely expressed that any quotation from them is impossible. Aside from these, four-fifths of the comment is sarcastic personal abuse:

"We have lived down here in serene ignorance of the writer until her effusions revealed her to our 'uncultivated' and 'unenlightened' people. And even now that we have discovered her we are at a loss to know just where to place her, for she would certainly not feel at home among the 'aristocrats' she writes about. The coarse language she imputes to her bridge-playing friend would indicate that she is not very choice in her associates and that she had had limited opportunity of association with cultured people."

"The partisan mind registers only such details as seem to corroborate a preconceived opinion. Partisans find what they want to find, like the sow that visited the villa. While the villa was world-famous for exquisite tapestries, paintings, gardens, and objects of reverent adoration, the visiting sow found nothing except swill barrels and muck heaps. . . . As a professional writer myself, I wonder why *The Nation* did not select some broad-gauged, capable American to prepare this article, rather than leave it to an apparently soured mind which has taken the opportunity to get even with somebody."

Such "criticism," of course, does not call for reply. Apart from this muddy stream of vituperation certain statements deserve consideration.

The writer must apologize for the only misstatement of fact in the article which has been established, and one which she gladly corrects. I stated that Mississippi has no compulsory education law, depending on the last report (1918) of the Bureau of Education, issued by the Department of the Interior in 1920. Professor William Garner Burgin of the Mississippi State College for Women corrected this statement: "Mississippi passed a compulsory education law in 1920 and the law went into effect immediately after its passage." A pamphlet received at the Los Angeles library since the article appeared gives the provisions of the law: all Mississippi children, without regard to race, 6 to 14 years of age, must attend school eighty days each year; parents and guardians are held responsible for violations of the law; the law went into effect August 1, 1920. Mr. Burgin adds:

The State Superintendent of Public Education informs me that as a result of the operation of the law in the first year after its passage, 30,000 more children attended the public schools of the State. This indicates that the law is being enforced.

Mrs. Marion Becket Howorth (née Kincannon) in a letter already published in *The Nation* states that Mississippi is third, not second from the bottom of the list in regard to educational appropriations.

Owing to an error not caught in the proof I was made to state that Mississippi is next to the lowest in its appropriation "per educable child." As a matter of fact, its appropriation of $7.89 is the lowest. (Bureau of Education, No. 90, "Biennial Survey of Education," in 4 vols., vol. III, p. 198); North Carolina ($8.49) is second lowest; Alabama ($9.35) is third. The United States average is $30.91. Other educational statistics (same reference) are:

Percentage of total tax levy devoted to education: United States average, 28.67 per cent; Mississippi, 12.46 per cent, second lowest in the country.

Value of school property per child enrolled: United States average, $95.12. Mississippi, $8.97, the lowest in the list; second lowest, North Carolina, $22.55.

Salaries of teachers (p. 164) United States average, $635. Mississippi, $291, second lowest; North Carolina is lowest, $284.

Judge Ethridge of the Mississippi Supreme Court writes:

The public schools in this State are maintained at a greater cost per citizen than perhaps in any other State.

The average per capita cost of schools for the United States is $7.26 (same reference and volume as above, p. 198). The cost for Mississippi is $2.13, the lowest in the country; the second lowest is Alabama, $2.53. Judge Ethridge continues:

A public school is within reach of every Negro child and they have been liberally patronized and there are relatively few of the younger generation of Negroes who have not at least a primary education.

Professor Burgin writes:

Every county provides educational opportunities (for Negroes) and in practically every county the length of the school term for the Negro schools is the same as that for the whites. It is not a matter of common knowledge that there are a number of normal training schools, twelve I believe, in Mississippi for the training of Negro teachers for the public schools. . . . There are a number of Negro colleges, adequately supported and largely attended, and there is the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, established by the State and supported by a biennial appropriation from the State legislature.

I quote from the last "Survey of Negro Education," revised to 1919, published by the Department of the Interior in 2 vols., vol. II, p. 14:

MISSISSIPPI

	White	Colored
Population, 6 to 14 years old.....	173,020	238,101
Teachers' salaries per child.....	$10.60	$2.26
Illiterates, 6 to 14 years old.....	5.2%	35.6%

"58.1 per cent of the Negro children, 6 to 14 years old, are in school." "The average length of the rural school term for Negroes is less than five months." The average rural school term for the State is 138 days (seven months).

"The Negro schoolhouses (rural) are miserable beyond description. They are usually without comfort, equipment, proper light-

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ing, or sanitation. Most of the teachers are absolutely untrained, and have been given certificates by the county board not because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of a Negro teacher. Among the Negro schools I have visited, I have found only one in which the highest class knew the multiplication table." *(Ibid.,* p. 15.)

There are three Negro high schools in the entire State with the following enrolment ("Bien. Survey of Ed.," vol. IV, p. 212): 9th grade, 139; 10th grade, 103; 11th grade, 75; 12th grade, 0. Total, 317. The total high-school enrolment in Mississippi (white and colored) is 6,319. *(Ibid.)*

I agree with Professor Burgin that the existence of the "twelve normal training schools for Negroes" is "not a matter of common knowledge." They are not to be found in the last "Biennial Survey of Education in the United States," the "Survey of Negro Education," the "Educational Directory" (1921), or the Slater Fund report (1921). The "Survey of Negro Education" (vol. II, p. 18) states:

> The most urgent need of colored schools is trained teachers. . . . State normal schools are maintained only in Virginia, North Caroline, Alabama, and Maryland. The State agricultural and mechanical schools, largely supported by the Federal Government, offer some teacher training courses, but in most cases these are not adequate.

The "Educational Directory" (1921) reports only four normal schools in Mississippi, namely, the Hattiesburg Normal (white) and three county training schools. These county training schools are described in "U. S. Bulletin of Ed.," 1919, No. 27, "Recent Progress in Negro Education":

> The county training schools are built and maintained by the combined effort of the public school authorities, the Slater Fund, the colored people of the county, and local white friends of Negro education. . . . The regular State public school course of study is followed . . . through the seven elementary grades. In the eighth and ninth grades (where there is a ninth grade) the State high-school course is followed, with Negro history substituted in most cases for ancient history, simple teacher training, and industrial work for the classics.

The Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, described by Professor Burgin, is also overlooked by all the reports and surveys, but perhaps he has reference to Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College (colored) which is maintained by the State. This is described in the last "Survey of Negro Education" (vol. II, p. 344) as "A school of secondary grade with two-thirds of its pupils in the elementary department. . . . The second year of the preparatory department and the four years of the so-called college constitute a fairly good high-school course." In the reference list of Southern colored schools (John F. Slater Fund Occasional Papers, No. 20, second ed., 1921) the attendance at Alcorn is given as follows: Total, 485; between 7th grade and college, 372; college 45. Fourteen Mississippi institutions appear in this list, and I give the description and enrolment of the larger "colleges" from the sources quoted in regard to Alcorn:

> Tougaloo College: "A school of secondary grade with a few pupils in collegiate classes and a large elementary attendance." Enrolment, 351; 7th grade-college, 181; college, 12.
>
> Campbell College: "A large school of elementary and secondary grade giving some instruction in commercial and theological subjects." Enrolment, 235; 7th grade-college, 129; college, 0.
>
> Rust College: Enrolment, 589; secondary, 267; college, 14.
>
> Natchez College: Enrolment, 278; secondary, 188, college, 2.
>
> Jackson College: "A secondary school for both boys and girls with a large elementary enrolment. A teachers' course is listed but there are no pupils." Enrolment, 285; secondary, 244; college, 6.

Professor Burgin writes:

> With regard to illiteracy the presence of the Negro in larger number than the whites makes a high percentage inevitable. But eliminating the statistics of illiteracy for Negroes, the percentage for the native white population is considerably lower than is true of the larger number of American States."

The percentage of illiterates in the entire United States is 7.7. Illiteracy among the native whites is 3.7, among Negroes, 30.4 ("Bien. Survey of Ed.," vol. III, p. 145). The figures for Mississippi are: all classes, 22.4; native whites, 5.3; Negroes, 35.6. Louisiana has the greatest percentage of illiteracy among native whites and also among Negroes; Alabama is second; Mississippi is third.

Professor Lawrence G. Painter of the Mississippi State College for Women holds that my statement "There are no first-class colleges in Mississippi" is untrue. The authority for my statement is the "Bulletin of the Dept. of the Interior," 1918, No. 27, the latest on the subject, giving the reports of the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Universities, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. In the first two lists no Mississippi institution appears, though all other Southern States are represented. The University of California, having one of the most catholic lists of accredited colleges of any American institution, does not credit any Mississippi college, though it does accredit colleges in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Virginia. The Carnegie Foundation list contains no Southern institutions. The Southern Association, which gives a sectional, not a national rating, lists only two Mississippi colleges—Millsaps and the University of Mississippi. The "Classification of Universities and Colleges with Reference to the Bachelor's Degrees," issued by the Department of the Interior, lists three Mississippi colleges, and gives them the following ranking: Millsaps College, third grade; Mississippi College of Agriculture and Mechanics, fourth grade; Mississippi College, fourth grade.

Two writers misinterpreted my statement that there is no child-labor law in Mississippi. I meant no law prohibiting child labor. There are several statutes regulating child labor: persons living on the earnings of their children are declared vagrants (C 1906 s 5061); boys under 12 and girls under 14 are not to be employed in manufacturing establishments or canneries (1908 C 99 s 1 as amend 1912 C 165); boys under 16 and girls under 18 are not to be employed more than 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, or between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. (1908 C 99 s 2 as amend 1912 C 165); "It is the duty of each county health officer to visit . . . all manufacturing establishments employing child labor in his county at least twice a year—and report to the sheriff any unsanitary conditions of the premises," the presence of children suffering from contagious disease or incapacitated for the work required of them, with the procedure to be followed (1908 C 99 s 5 as amend 1912 C 165); refusing information to the health officer or employing child labor illegally is made a misdemeanor, punishable by a small fine or a few days' imprisonment in the county jail (1908 C 99 s 7 and 8 as amend 1912 C 165). Under 1914 C 164 s 1 to 8, substantially the same regulations apply to the employment of children in cotton and knitting mills.

The lax enforcement of even these inadequate regulations and the terrible conditions under which children work in the oyster and shrimp canneries of Biloxi, Gulfport, Pass Christian, Bay St. Louis, Lake Shore and Ocean Springs, are described in detail in Bureau Publication No. 98 (1922) of the Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.

Professor Burgin holds that juvenile courts are not needed in the State because juvenile offenders are separately dealt with in the regular State courts and paroled to responsible persons. In Vicksburg juvenile offenders (colored boys it is true, but boys nevertheless) are tried, or were a year ago, at the regular court terms by the ordinary procedure and, if found guilty, sentenced to terms in the county jail. Two attorneys and one high-school teacher informed me that this was the general custom in the State.

Eloise McGaskill Bilden, a Mississippian now living in New York City, states that Negroes are not "landless" and that thousands of Negroes own their own farms. The latter state-

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ment is quite correct; 23,179 of them do, according to the 1920 census. But according to the same census ("Agriculture"—p. 12, line 81) there are 137,848 Negro tenant farmers in Mississippi, which means that only 14 per cent of the Negro farmers own land, 86 per cent are landless—surely an overwhelming proportion!

On the subject of the treatment of Negroes, Mississippians have written heatedly, as they always do when anyone, particularly a Northerner, ventures to describe or comment upon "their" problem. Judge Ethridge quotes a paragraph in which the present writer described how Negroes are bound to their "bosses," how they are whipped if they run away, and how they may be sold to another "boss" for the amount of the debt they owe their employer. He then says:

> There is not a shadow of truth in this statement. Occasionally a Negro is whipped, but it is not for anything pertaining to his employment and the whipping is not done by the employer. . . .
>
> There has never been until 1900 any restraint on a Negro's right to contract. In that year the legislature enacted a statute, being section 1147 of the Code of Mississippi of 1906, which undertook to make it a misdemeanor for a person who had contracted in writing for a period not exceeding twelve months to leave his employment or the premises and make a second contract without giving notice of the first. This statute was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of this State.

I have never understood nor stated that there was any Mississippi law which permitted an employer to hold a Negro in peonage, to punish an employee with a whipping, or to exploit him. These things are done not by sanction of the code, but by the law of custom, and they are not interfered with by the legal authorities any more than a sheriff would interfere with a man who beat his dog or spanked his child or went after a strayed mule.

I know that Mississippi plantation Negroes are bound to the employers and whipped if they run away because I have come in contact with the custom repeatedly. The first eight months I spent in the State, if a little personal history is pardonable, I lived in a small plantation town in the delta. Practically all the many friends and acquaintances I made lived on plantations, or lived in the village and owned and managed plantations nearby. My notebooks for those eight months are filled with the new, strange, and (to me) almost unbelievable things I saw and heard, things certainly more alien to my former experience than anything I had encountered in foreign countries. It was just after the close of the war, and the Negroes shared in the general restlessness of the country. They were "uppity" and "had got out of their place," to use the local expressions. Therefore there may have been more trouble than usual during those months. My notes record twenty-two whippings of Negroes in that length of time in that one community. One took place in my hearing. In one case I saw the runaway transported home: the "boss" stopped at our house for a rest, and to tell us where he caught Jim and what he was going to do with him. One was a woman who came to town to do laundry work while her cotton was "laid by." Her "boss" wanted her to work for him, so he came after her (she happened to be staying with my cook at the time), took her home, whipped her, and put her to work on his own place. The other cases were recounted in my hearing so casually and with such detail that they could not have been fabricated, even had there been any reason for such fabrication. One of these whippings was administered to a Negress for quarreling; four in an attempt to secure evidence against other Negroes. The others were all "runaways." In every instance the employer personally inflicted the punishment. A piece of harness leather seemed to be the favored instrument, and in eight cases, my notes record, the victim was described as incapacitated for work for from one to five days after the beating.

Mr. Harris Dickson of Vicksburg, in support of his contention that Negroes are not discriminated against in Mississippi courts of law, cites this instance:

> In one of our courts of equity a short while ago a planter sought to foreclose his deed in trust on a Negro tenant's live stock to collect his ration account. The Negro's attorney pleaded usury and a padding of accounts. Upon full hearing the court not only refused to enforce the planter's claim, but on the other hand gave judgment for the Negro against the planter.

My statement was that in the country districts a Negro tenant cannot bring suit against his employer when the "settlement" is unfair to the tenant. The suit Mr. Dickson quotes was brought by a white man against a Negro. Of course a white man's suit would not be summarily thrown out of court, and once in court it is surely to be expected that even in Mississippi the case would be fully heard and decided on its merits, with a judgment for the Negro if the evidence required it!

Mr. Dickson writes further:

> The grotesque truth is that no class of labor on earth toils less than a Mississippi plantation Negro, or gets better paid. Every New York business man puts in per year at least three times as many days of unremitting toil. Here is the fact: The Negro tenant makes a cotton crop and nothing else, absolutely nothing. To produce cotton requires ninety-four days' work, if the cropper works. During the remainder of the year he is free to loaf and ramble. Yet, in a fairly favorable season for that ninety-four days of unremitting toil he gets a full year's living for himself and family, with a tidy little balance in cash at Christmas.

This is a picture that harmonizes with Mississippi life as Mr. Dickson has portrayed it in his charming romances, but life on a plantation, both in the cabins and in "the big house," is strangely unlike the idyllic existence of Southern fiction. Cotton is planted in March. In good years, it is picked by Christmas. In unusually wet years, picking is going on two months later, when it is time to plan for the next crop. Several Mississippi planters have said to me "Farmers up North don't know what work is. They make a crop in three or four months. It takes us a year."

For his year's work the Negro gets a "living" for himself and his family, but the "tidy balance at Christmas" is quite likely to be on the wrong side of the ledger.

These criticisms have received detailed reply for two reasons: First, out of fairness to the Mississippians who wanted their views to reach the same audience that was reached by the original article; second, because such criticism reveals so clearly one of the most regrettable weaknesses of Mississippi, emphasized in the original article: the refusal to face facts; the resentment of criticism, however well founded; the firm belief that life in Mississippi now is all that life should be (only two critics admitted that perhaps the State is a little backward in some things!), the desire for eulogy, whether deserved or not; the certainty that Mississippi is apart from the rest of the country, with "peculiar problems" and "peculiar conditions" that only Mississippians can understand; and, finally, the conviction that the race problem is a local, not a national concern, and one that only Southerners should study, observe, discuss, or even meditate upon.

This attitude is characteristic of Mississippians of all classes. It is part of that narrowness of outlook and smug self-satisfaction that we call "provincialism." It is partly the fault of the State's history. Mostly, it is due to the low standards of education, the few and meager libraries, the small local newspapers, the unwillingness to travel, and the resentment of ideas from other parts of the world.

Most of those who have criticized the writer so bitterly could (and would) have written an article about Mississippi that would have been highly approved throughout the State—a eulogistic, rosy article, savored with the atmosphere of Southern novels and romances: wistaria and live oaks, and soft voices and faithful old "mammies" and courteous squires and benign old colonels and mint juleps and charming belles and white-columned plantation houses. If such an article were not quite true to fact, it would at least be true to tradition. And in the "Heart of Dixie" tradition is infinitely more precious than truth.

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In the Driftway

WHEN the Drifter reads that one hundred children in Juarez, Mexico, stormed the city hall in an attempt to make the city authorities reopen the schools which had been closed for lack of money to pay salaries, he feels his doubt of the truth of another myth grow stronger. For centuries one of the old reliables of comic artists and writers of literature about children has been that a priori every boy and girl hates school and would rather be anywhere in the world than in the schoolroom. It has, on the whole, been to the interest of the boys and girls to keep this myth going as vigorously as possible. And yet is it as true as it looks? Myths seldom are, of course. The Drifter can speak with assurance only of himself, but he distinctly remembers that his first day at school was one of the proudest of his life. His feeling of superiority to the other children who were not yet big enough to leave the shelter of the parental wing was superb. He will admit that in a few years this feeling wore off; school was no longer a novelty but it was not yet drudgery as he was to know it later. He left his bed reluctantly enough in the morning, but by the time he had started down the street with his schoolbooks dangling by a strap at his side and had begun to meet certain cronies with whom he conducted the really serious business of life the schoolroom appeared the only proper beginning for a day. Everybody went to school; school was one of those inevitable things without which one could not imagine life at all; without school there would be no vacations, no occasion for playing truant, no possibility of augmenting the sufferings of a harassed teacher, no home-work to serve as an excuse for escaping chores.

* * * * *

THE Drifter is not sure that he thought these things out very clearly. He was probably conscious of them only in a general way. But there is no doubt that going to school added to his feeling of being a citizen with a part in the affairs of the state. When school began he was a man, with a man's cares and a man's responsibilities, and he needed release from them as any man would. He pitied the children who were still too young to know these things; he pitied still more the poor youth in the corner house who endured a private tutor; and his envy of the Duffy boys who, being large for their age, had left school at twelve or so to go to work in their father's grocery store—envy because they were actually earning a living—was not unmixed with pity that they could not know any longer the delights and tortures of one who was still in process of being educated.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

South Carolina: Fragrance *vs.* Stench

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is hard to ask a writer to describe a State, certainly an old and Southern one, in a couple of pages. Unless you are poorer editors than I believe, your purpose in publishing such an article as Mr. Lewisohn's on South Carolina has been as much to pique some people as to please others.

It is a pity for Mr. Lewisohn to sacrifice accuracy to what he conceives to be point and picturesqueness. Well enough to say that a tiny tongue of land in Charleston gives us memories which are all that matter in South Carolina today, that the gossip of this ancient town is an adequate account of the commonwealth. Well enough to lament that Charleston culture is vanishing before the attack of "some hustler from the Middle West" and to turn with a shudder from dim distinctive drawing-rooms and porticos laced over with pale wistaria to the up-country headquarters of cotton-mill men and of Methodism. It is cheaply fetching to hark back to the shy verse and anonymous novels of the Charleston litterateur of another day, and let the public sins of Charlestonians fade into the past as having been "always less vulgar and ugly than the sins of those who have come after."

But in breathing in the "lingering fragrance" of Charleston, our reporter must not forget to sniff understandingly the lingering stench of this same Charleston. The identical effeteness that bred Byronic lyrics left the hinterland in neglect; the fierce partisanship of the parishes plunged the whole people into the Civil War; the genius of the city which made the St. Cecilia just as certainly made the abomination that is Blease.

The crude up-country, for all its lynchings and disingenuous welfare work in mill villages and novel talk of tariffs, is struggling, more or less consciously, against the old wrongs visited upon South Carolina by her Charleston. And some day when the poor whites have come into their own, it will be seen that they have wrought in clanging hammer and cleaving plow a poem finer than the tasteful syllables of the fleeting Charleston verse.

But, if the whole queer truth be told, it was the old Charleston which first, through enterprise and capital and public spirit, gave impulse to manufacturing and diversification of agriculture in the up-country, and the drowsy city is this moment meaning to desecrate its lovely bay by dredges that will scrape the hindering sand from its harbor bar.

Baltimore, July 14 BROADUS MITCHELL

See Page 124 of This Issue

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Don't you think you owe the people of Mississippi a public apology for the account of the social conditions in Mississippi written by Mrs. Beulah Amidon Ratliff and published in *The Nation* in the latter half of May? At least some amends should be made to Dr. W. S. Leathers and the State Board of Health for the great injustice you have done. No Southerner who knows *The Nation* expects fairness from you, but why not try to be decent just once?

There is one point with which you could have scored on Mississippi but you did not allude to it. I refer to the political life of the State as exemplified by the present Governor and his faction. Is it possible that the views of the Vardamanites are so similar to those of *The Nation* and that Vardaman so often quotes *The Nation* with approval that it would be rather embarrassing for you to lambaste him? I wonder. Especially the vile, indecent, almost obscene abuse of Woodrow Wilson which Vardaman pours forth is different not at all in spirit, and often little in language, from the words of *The Nation* on the same subject.

Well, why not swallow your pride just once and state that your publication gave publicity to a very misleading, largely false, and therefore unjust account of Mississippi?

Jackson, Mississippi, July 18 ZOON POLITICON

Gargoyle and *Broom*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read in your issue of May 3 an editorial on the American magazines published abroad. Do you mind my calling your attention to a slight mistake? You say: "The first and handsomest of these ventures was *Broom*. . . ." *Gargoyle* was started in July, 1921 (some four months before *Broom*), and has appeared regularly ever since.

Paris, June 28 ARTHUR MOSS

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The Roving Critic

Unsuccessful Parasites

NOT even the Roman satirists riddled parasites more skilfully than Edith Wharton, who has observed the habits of that tribe with a gusto and a success which come as near as anything in her novels to giving away the warm preferences behind the cool movement of her work. She can be as kind as she is to the tragedy of Lily Bart or as cruel as she is to the comedy of Undine Spragg, but, in one disposition or another, she delights to watch the plight of those creatures who cling to the brilliant world of riches and privilege even though they must pay for their pride in being near it with their pride in being something in their own right. In "The Glimpses of the Moon" (Appleton) Mrs. Wharton resumes this favorite theme, not as tragically or as satirically as elsewhere but with a full share of that mingled penetration and sympathy in which no living novelist surpasses her. Her story is, this time, of two parasites, man and woman, who let love persuade them into what they think an injudicious marriage in the confidence that they can snatch at least a year of joy, in houses lent them for their honeymoon after the lavish fashion of their world, and with the understanding that they will not hold each other bound in case either of them has a chance later at any more profitable marriage or career. Alas for plans! When love comes in at the window prudence has a way of flying out at the door. What can the lovers do if they find themselves still haunted by those glimpses of the moon which lifted them in their high days? What if love endures in bosoms which have not expected it?

With an inventiveness sufficient, on a lower plane, to make a dozen exciting romances, Mrs. Wharton gives her parasites occasion after occasion to learn how unworthy their status is of their passion. Sooner or later even the most generous patrons ask their hangers-on for payment of some sort or other. It turns out that Susy and Nick are expected to make themselves more useful after marriage than before; and though they had expected that their alliance would increase their opportunities they are shocked to find what opportunities come. Moreover, certain mean shifts which one may be willing to practice for oneself one may not be willing to practice for another, and that other a person whom one loves. In the case of Nick and Susy the slightly finer scruples of Nick prove terribly infectious. Integrity grows upon them. Neither, married, is quite as competent a parasite as when unmarried. Nor—again alas for plans!—do they find it easier to break this union which tangles them in coils of honor than to break the coils. Their marriage is of such durable stuff that it puts their modes of life to shame, makes them hate the world in which such modes can have grown upon them, and drives them at last into the relationship which is the secret of true marriage—an honesty which they must use to all the world if and because they use it to each other.

Mrs. Wharton here handles a theme which ninety-nine novelists out of a hundred would have handled as merely another proof that morals are reformed by love. She is, as usual, the one out of the hundred who always remembers to be intelligent—indeed, she writes as if she had never felt the temptation to be anything else. She has her accustomed touches of social caricature; her children do not entirely convince; she impinges upon farce in her last two chapters; yet to all who read with their brains her new book must be an excitement and a delight. Without rushing it never flags; it cuts without drawing unnecessary blood; it convinces with no hint of argument. It is lucid, balanced, aware, easy, alive. If "Ethan Frome" is more tragic and "The Custom of the Country" more satiric and "The Age of Innocence" more varied, "The Glimpses of the Moon" is more friendly and human than any of them.

CARL VAN DOREN

Books

English Consciences

Conscription and Conscience: A History 1916 to 1919. By John W. Graham. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6d.

THIS is for the moment, and is likely to remain, the standard history of the conflict of the Government with the conscientious objectors in England from 1916 to 1919. The writing of it could not have been intrusted to better hands. Mr. Graham is principal of Dalton Hall in the University of Manchester, and is well known as the author of several important works on Quakerism. As Quaker chaplain to Manchester prison, and as a very influential Friend in the north of England, he saw much with his own eye of the workings of the Military Service Acts, and his own intimate knowledge has been fortified with the help of several of the young leaders who played a leading part in organizing the pacifist resistance to the acts. He is still the better qualified for the task in that, while he is himself a wholehearted pacifist on religious grounds, he has a singularly penetrating philosophic mind which prevents him from indulging in bitterness or false heroics, and which enables him to understand the many different points of view, religious and socialistic, by which the fifteen thousand English conscientious objectors arrived at their common opposition to the war. Many of us in England are looking forward with keen anticipation to the history of the American pacifist movement; and it is possible that Principal Graham's record may not be without interest to some readers in the United States, where the book will possibly not be published.

In an appendix Mr. Graham himself gives a brief outline of the corresponding history in other countries, including the United States; and what is immediately noticeable is the larger proportion of conscientious objectors in England than elsewhere. The explanation of this is in large measure to be found, probably, in the fact that, while the pacifist movement in all countries concerned during the war had many features in common, in England the resisters to conscription devised and maintained unshaken an organization that was unique. The organization was called the No-Conscription Fellowship, and, though it received invaluable help from the Society of Friends and from other organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, it was itself the prime factor that enabled so large a number of men to withstand successfully the pressure of Government, military, and public opinion. The No-Conscription Fellowship had a casual and a small beginning. Though it was not until the National Register was taken in August, 1915, that conscription loomed definitely on the horizon, the possibility of it was, of course, apparent from the earliest days of the war, and it was in the fall of 1914 that the *Labour Leader*, the organ of the Independent Labor Party, contained a letter signed by its editor, A. Fenner Brockway, and written at his wife's suggestion, asking for the enrolment of a fellowship of all men who would refuse compulsory service should it come. Names poured in in unexpected numbers; and early in 1915 it was clear that the Manchester editor had begun a national movement of large dimensions and that a London center and a secretariat were necessary. From then until the last conscientious objector was released from prison in July, 1919, the Fellowship, in Mr. Graham's own words, "carried on what was in effect an illegal organization in open defiance of the authorities. He engaged in battles of wit with both military and civil departments of state, and often won. He looked after the suffering at home and abroad, and safeguarded them from the worst effects of the war mind. It signally defeated the obvious intention of the military to shoot resisters. It stirred a mass of intellectual opinion remarkable for its genius and standing. It roused trade unionism from a sleepy acquiescence in persecution to earnest protest. It broke down long-standing traditions in army and prison, until those in authority hardly knew

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what they were doing. Above all, it insisted throughout in carrying on a challenging campaign for pacifism no less vigorous than its stand for liberty."

Mr. Graham gives many fascinating details about the extraordinary ingenuity of secrecy by which this organization maintained itself in the teeth of government and public opposition, and of the miraculous way by which it succeeded, in spite of frequent official raids, in publishing in unbroken succession for 180 weeks a journal called *The Tribunal*. Space unfortunately is lacking for further quotation; but we must note that the Fellowship was equally remarkable for the tact with which it held together the many different types of objectors—from those who, on the one extreme, had a religious scruple against the use of all force to those, on the other extreme, who merely had a socialist objection to fighting in a "capitalist" war. It was often said that the No-Conscription Fellowship "created" conscientious objectors. No doubt it did, like every other powerful movement, attract to itself a few unworthy adherents; but it is true to say that what it mainly did was, with its constant vigilance and help, to prevent many genuine objectors from yielding to a persecution that, had there not been this organization to sustain them, might well have proved too much for all but the stoutest hearts.

The first Military Service Act, for single men only, was passed in March, 1916. It was followed rapidly by a similar act applying to married men. The conscience clause, as finally amended, allowed for exemption from combatant service only; for exemption from all military service on condition of authorized civil work of national importance being performed; or for unconditional exemption in cases that could only be thus satisfied. But, however good may have been the Government's intention, it was frustrated by the local tribunals which were called upon to administer the acts. A negligible number of total exemptions were granted, and the tribunals as a whole were merely guided by prejudice. The result was that hundreds of men who objected to all military service were handed over to the army, by which at first they were treated with a brutality of which Mr. Graham gives many painful instances; while no less than thirty-four objectors were, in spite of parliamentary pledges, taken to France, where they would undoubtedly have been shot had the No-Conscription Fellowship been less quick in ascertaining the facts and bringing pressure to bear on the War Office through the intervention of sympathetic members in the House of Commons. As it was, the military made a parade by formally sentencing the thirty-four men to death, though their sentence was immediately commuted to ten years' imprisonment.

It was only by slow degrees that through the persevering labors of the No-Conscription Fellowship and its powerful friends in and out of Parliament the position of the conscientious objectors became regularized and that the courts martial were compelled to hand over all men who protested their objection to military service to the civil authorities for imprisonment. In July, 1916, the Government devised what they called the Home Office Scheme, whereby men who were willing to undertake "alternative service" but who had been denied the necessary exemption by the local tribunals were, on establishing afresh their bona fides, released from prison to do "work of national importance" in specially arranged government "work-centers." In actual fact the "work-centers" were usually old and disused prisons, in which the locks had been removed from the doors, and in which the men were kept in a wholly unprofitable state of semi-internment. Nearly 4,000 men accepted the scheme; while over 1,500 others, who would undertake no alternative service, served repeated sentences of "hard labor" in the civil prisons until released some months after the armistice. Some 3,300 objectors accepted military service in non-combatant corps; nearly 4,000 received direct permission from the tribunals to engage in unorganized but authorized civil work of importance; while the remainder, with the exception of a small number who are known to have evaded the acts altogether, were granted exemption conditionally on working with the Friends' Ambulance Unit.

We have given but the barest summary of the history which Mr. Graham's volume very fully and very attractively records. Those who desire to know more of the workings of the Conscription Acts in England must be referred to the book itself. It should be added that there is a preface by Clifford Allen, who was chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship, and who now points some of the moral to be drawn from the history of the movement.

GILBERT THOMAS

The Railroads Today and Tomorrow

Railroads and Government: Their Relations in the United States, 1910-1921. By Frank Haigh Dixon. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.25.

Our Railroads Tomorrow. By Edward Hungerford. The Century Company. $2.50.

FRANK HAIGH DIXON, one of our foremost authorities on transportation, has performed well the important task of tracing the Federal regulation of railroads from 1910 down to the present year. A believer in private operation and an advocate of the Transportation Act of 1920, he painstakingly sets down the facts, no matter which way they cut, and the reader, if he be gifted with brains, can draw his own conclusions. Written largely from the official records, and bolstered by Mr. Dixon's own broad and intimate knowledge, the book will deservedly rank as the standard work on the important period it covers. That it will "beguile the general reader" into even "a hasty perusal" may perhaps be doubted.

The most significant fact disclosed by Mr. Dixon's microscopic analysis is the glacier-like advance of public control. Its culmination in the Transportation Act is thus described: "Congress has formally declared that it is the business of the Government to provide the public with adequate and efficient transportation service and to assure to private capital the revenue needed to accomplish the purpose." The heart of our railroad problem is this: Can and will our privately owned and managed roads provide such service under the conditions we have created? Mr. Dixon believes that they will. "Government ownership would be a hazardous experiment; government operation would be disastrous." But the results required cannot be attained by means of minor economies. They must come through a nation-wide introduction of methods of cooperation. Such cooperative action our author hopefully expects despite his flat statement that "cooperation in any genuine sense for war purposes was not to be accomplished under private management." Well, perhaps the Ethiopian can change his skin, but it still seems a fairly good bet that the leopard can't change his spots.

The book gives an admirably fair account and criticism of the accomplishments of the Federal Railroad Administration, offering in this respect a pleasing contrast to the biased propaganda and downright falsehood on this subject by which the country has been misled. Critical of the Railroad Administration's rate policy and doubtful of its labor policy, Mr. Dixon yet credits Federal control with having saved the roads from probable bankruptcy, and gives the Directors General ungrudging praise for effecting substantial economies by bringing about real cooperation, for selecting men of the highest type to run the roads, and for excluding politics from railroad operation. Messrs. McAdoo and Hines could scarcely ask a cleaner bill of health.

The excellent work done by the National Association of Owners of Railway Securities in developing large-scale plans of constructive cooperation likewise receives the recognition that its importance warrants, and the unique significance of that organization as indicating the new status of bondholders is duly pointed out.

The thorny labor question Mr. Dixon handles rather less confidently than the problems of operation, consolidation, and rates,

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possibly because the Commission has not blazed so clear a trail here. He points out that, contrary to the popular impression, railroad wage increases during the war were moderate by comparison with those in other industries, but that railroad labor during twenty-six months of Federal operation made more progress in organization and in standardization and nationalization of rules and practices than during all its previous history. He would maintain the men's national unions, but with increased adjustment to local needs, and with local participation in management by means of something resembling Whitley Councils. This is all well enough, but it does not get us very far. We could wish for a bit more imagination in Mr. Dixon's treatment of the labor problem, and indeed of the other problems he touches.

Any lack in this respect, however, is abundantly supplied when we turn to Mr. Hungerford's three hundred pages, written in the best *Saturday Evening Post* style, and designed to be understanded of the people. In a class wholly different from Mr. Dixon's work, of course, the book contains a good many facts and figures, some of which the discriminating reader will subject to scrutiny. Leaping lightly from high point to high point, Mr. Hungerford rather airily tells our ignorant railroad magnates what they must do to be saved, and he tells them a plenty.

He does not ascribe the plight of the railroads primarily to public regulation or government interference, though he rightly enough condemns our feeble-minded theory of railroad competition and urges regional development. The root source of our railroad troubles, however, he finds in the defects of our railroad management—its blind adherence to tradition, its ignorance of the best railroad practice abroad, its failure to meet new conditions. His criticism might well lead some of our transportation captains to sit up and take notice; for it contains far too much truth. The unification of terminal facilities, electrification, gasoline propulsion of small trains with frequent service, industrial light railways—these are a few of Mr. Hungerford's easy suggestions. They are a bit too easy, in fact. Nevertheless, if our private railroad system is to be saved, it will have to be done, not by cooperation alone, but by initiative, resourcefulness, adaptability, by the use of industrial imagination of the highest order, by railroading and not by financiering.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

Much Ado About Common Sense

Essays in Common Sense Philosophy. C. E. M. Joad. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

"THE following essays," says the writer of them, "are sufficiently philosophical to seem singularly like nonsense to the plain man. At the same time they are sufficiently akin in spirit and conclusions to the plain man's view of the everyday world as we know it, to appear pedestrian and unsatisfying to most philosophers." With the first part of the author's comment on his own work, the reviewer is in complete accord. The plain man will certainly be confused, confounded, and possibly amused, to find the world, in which he has hitherto blithely moved, converted into such a bewildering tornado of technicalities. One questions, however, whether either the plain man or the philosopher will be ready to grant Mr. Joad his easy identification of his own philosophy and common sense. Philosophers of different persuasion will certainly object to Mr. Joad's monopoly of what is, after all, a high term of praise. And the man in the street may wonder why common sense is identified with so esoteric a jargon.

Mr. Joad's book deals with some technical problems in philosophy from the standpoint of the New Realism. Briefly stated, his main thesis is that we perceive reality directly and that reality exists apart from perception. Upon this simple sounding thesis, reached after a highly involved and sophisticated discussion, he gives a fairly succinct statement of the position of the philosophical group with which he happens to be associated on such questions as happen to interest them. There is a great deal about external relations, knowledge of sensible objects, and the objectivity of the concept of beauty. His analysis is at least as simple as can be expected from a philosophical position that has to invoke diagrams, the letters of the alphabet, and what-not of abracadabra to prove that a chair exists and that a person with eyes may see it. He analyzes with terseness and precision some of the theories with which realism comes primarily in conflict, especially the representationalist theories such as that of Locke, which introduce a *tertium quid* between the knower and the known object, and the monistic theories, which insist that despite the many things there are in the universe there is in reality only one. But the major part of the book is concerned with technical issues that happen to be interesting only if one is interested in the technical "problem of knowledge." For anyone not in the professional ranks it must seem a good deal of needless trouble to spend time and paper proving that there are things to know, that one may know them, and that one may make mistakes.

One hopes, however, that the layman will reserve judgment until he comes to the last hundred pages. For there Mr. Joad shows what admirable things a philosopher may do when released from the cage of his pet professional categories. The chapter entitled Common Sense and the State is a finely immediate consideration of the meaning and bearing of political association. It also disposes neatly and conclusively of that popular presumption and Hegelian dialectic by which the political association known as the national state is made the only one among the many forms of human association that deserves justification or allegiance. The essay on Thought and Temperament, based largely on William James's distinction between the tough-minded and the tender-minded, is a bright though not particularly original analysis of the part that temperament and interest play in determining our premises, our methods, and our conclusions. One imagines if Mr. Joad had been less concerned with the particular set of technical questions agitating his fellow Neo-Realists he might have written as freshly and illuminatingly throughout the book.

IRWIN EDMAN

Hopes and Losses

Peace and Bread in Time of War. By Jane Addams. The Macmillan Company. $2.

LAST September Miss Addams, life-long pacifist, and Sir Philip Gibbs, post-war pacifist, spoke from the same platform at Toynbee Hall, London. Sir Philip was hopeful of great results from the approaching Disarmament Conference at Washington, partly because it had the support of the organized clubwomen of the United States. Miss Addams displayed no conspicuous enthusiasm over the clubwomen; their role as energetic leaders of war-drives was perhaps a too recent memory. But she herself expressed what seemed an equally naive hope that the League of Nations would come to the rescue of famine-stricken Russia, thereby winning the affections of the common people of the United States and making our entrance into the League more likely. Surely the common people of America had done nothing to suggest that the way to their hearts lay through friendliness toward Russia! In the case both of the Conference and of the League the skepticism of some of the listeners at the meeting was justified by the event.

But it was unjust to regard Miss Addams as the victim of illusions. Superficially, "Peace and Bread," the story of pacifist activities and hopes from 1914 to 1921, is indeed a melancholy record of progressive disillusionment. Fundamentally, however, Miss Addams did not begin to compete with supporters of the war in the capacity to embrace illusions. She merely gave the benefit of the doubt to every person and every organization, from Henry Ford to the League of Nations. In no instance did they deserve it. But in each case there was just the

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one chance out of hundreds that the slaughter of youth and the starvation of babies might be checked. And that chance she preferred to take, at the terrible cost of misrepresentation, abuse, and ridicule. She saw with perfect clearness what a mess Mr. Ford's genius for advertising was making of a sober and even hopeful plan for an unofficial conference of neutrals. Of course, the plan had the blessing of President Wilson, and that in itself made the success of any pacifist enterprise dubious. But the failure was assured by the absurdities of the Peace Ship and the sensational slogan: "Get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas." Miss Addams did not regret, however, that the effort had been made: "As the Great War incredibly continued year after year, as the entrance of one nation after another increased the number of young combatants, as the war propaganda grew ever more bitter and irrational, there were moments when we were actually grateful for every kind of effort we had made. At such times, the consciousness of social opprobrium, of having become an easy mark for the cheapest comment, even the sense of frustration were, I am certain, easier to bear than would have been the consciousness that in our fear of sensationalism we had left one stone unturned to secure the Conference of Neutrals which seemed at least to us a possible agency for shortening the conflict."

In that spirit Miss Addams undertook every enterprise of these years, and reaped an unfailing harvest of frustration and opprobrium. As we look back now it seems incredible that anyone could have seriously expected Mr. Wilson's words to square with his practices. But there was always a chance. And Miss Addams and the Woman's Peace Party protested in 1916 at each iniquitous act of the United States in the Caribbean; for they rightly felt that only just dealing with weaker nations near at hand could give American ideals leadership in world reconstruction. It is equally amazing that anyone could have been comforted by the Secretary of War's kindly assurance that there would be no Conscientious Objector problem—when he meant quite simply that there were no such animals as conscientious objectors. There were simply lawbreakers.

In these and many other instances Miss Addams clutched at the faintest hope of justice and sanity, did her best to promote it, and, when it failed, remained both without bitterness and without either the self-pity or the self-righteousness that she regarded as the besetting dangers of the pacifist. Her hopes were too reasonable to be realized in a world that, as Bernard Shaw has suggested, is probably used by the other planets as a lunatic asylum.

DOROTHY BREWSTER

Books in Brief

Baedeker Switzerland; Baedeker's Canada. Leipzig: Karl Baedeker.

A recent note in these columns on the English series of Blue Guides stated that publication of the famous Baedeker volumes has been disrupted by the war. In answer come these two volumes, both dated 1922, and a letter from Hans Baedeker saying that the series was only interrupted, not disrupted, by the war. The announcement is welcome, while of the two new volumes it is enough to say that they appear to be up to the standard of their predecessors which long ago established the par in guide-book publication.

Selected Poems of Laurence Binyon. Macmillan. $2.

The gist of the fifteen slender volumes published in England since 1894 by this thinly distinguished poet.

The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth. By Frederick Chamberlin. Dodd, Mead. $5.

After extended and minute researches, here documented at every point, Mr. Chamberlin is convinced that Elizabeth, hereditary victim of her father's venereal disease, was chaste throughout her life. The biographer proceeds with a lawyer's zeal in his examination and cross-examination of evidence, particularly taking issue with all the historians who have undervalued the Earl of Leicester. To Mr. Chamberlin it seems that Leicester was one of the greatest of English statesmen, though one wishes Mr. Chamberlin were not so sure that God had set His mind on shifting the leadership of Europe from Spain to England and that He used Leicester as the instrument to help Elizabeth carry out His purposes. The evidence on this point is really very hard to get at, even for a lawyer.

Cosmic Vision. By T. J. Cobden-Sanderson. London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson.

Collected papers on art and science, labor and the beautiful life, by the finest English printer and bookbinder after William Morris; with a history and bibliography of the Doves Press.

The Life of Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel). By Waldo H. Dunn. Scribner. $4.50.

A "labor of love," as the not very fresh-phrased book might characteristically say of itself, devoted to one of the most charming of those writers who made the fifties of the last century sweet without making them light. When the cycle turns away from the present habit of intellect and satire it is quite possible that "Reveries of a Bachelor" and "Dream Life" will give the pleasure that dried rose petals give. Meanwhile "Wet Days at Edgewood" deserves from literary critics the praise which H. C. Taylor, of the United States Department of Agriculture, is herein quoted as giving it: "the best book on the history of agricultural literature that has been written."

Facing Old Age. By Abraham Epstein. Knopf. $3.50.

In his introduction to this book John B. Andrews describes the book correctly and adequately as "the most convenient compilation of up-to-date information on this very important subject." It consists of three hundred pages of facts (largely in statistical form) covering the field of old-age dependency and its causes, and describing the systems of insurance and pensions in force in all countries under the sun and even in the States of our own blessed and backward land. Mr. Epstein writes frankly as a believer in a liberal pension system, but does not distort his facts in consequence. It is a pity to mar so useful a catalogue with the ungrammatical English and the typographical errors that disfigure so many pages.

More Beetles. By J. H. Fabre. Dodd, Mead. $2.

In the issue of *The Nation* for June 28 this book was by a misprint credited to Dutton instead of to Dodd, Mead.

Silver Cross. By Mary Johnston. Little, Brown. $2.

A romance of the England of Henry VII's time, marked by the author's old concern with the mysteries of witchcraft and superstition against a background of Merry England but written in a new, vivid style which has now the pungency of imagism and now the stiffness of a manner not quite at ease with itself. Miss Johnston is working in a direction of growth which has important promise.

The Crisis of the Churches. By Leighton Parks. Scribners. $3.

A cultured and successful Episcopal rector of the low church school looks at his world. He finds many things to alarm him but after stating some of them rather vigorously and effectively he draws back from baffling problems to discuss things with which he is more at home—sectarianism, organic unity of the churches, the English tradition in Episcopalianism, etcetera. For those who like that sort of book, this is a book they will like. The rest of us may recall the author's own question: "Why may not the Christian church—at least in any form with which we are familiar—also fail?" and answer: It will for any reason the book gives us to the contrary.

Psychoanalysis and Love. By André Tridon. Brentano's. $2.50.

Claptrap, founded partly in science but clad entirely in jargon.

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International Relations Section

Property Rights in Soviet Russia

THIS law, adopted on May 22, was printed in the Moscow *Izvestia* of June 18.

For the purpose of establishing the exact relations between the state organs and associations and private persons participating in the development of the productive forces of the country, and also the relations of private persons and their associations with each other, and for the purpose of granting the legal guaranties arising from such relations and indispensable for the protection of the property rights of citizens of the RSFSR and foreigners, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decides:

I. To grant to all citizens whose rights are not limited in accordance with the established law the right to organize, on the territory of the RSFSR and the allied soviet republics, industrial and trade enterprises and to engage in all professions and trades which are permitted by the laws of the RSFSR provided that they observe all the rules regulating industrial and trade activities and safeguarding the employment of labor.

II. To grant to all citizens who are not limited in their rights in accordance with the established law the following property right and their protection by the courts:

A. The Right to Own Property

1. The right of ownership of buildings in city and village communities which have not been municipalized by the local soviets prior to the publication of the present decision with the right of selling such buildings and transferring to the purchaser the lease-right to the land occupied by the buildings.

NOTE. The right of transferring the lease does not apply to farm land in village communities.

2. The right, which is to be established by agreement with the local government agencies in charge of the land, to raise buildings on land in city and village communities for a period defined by a special law but not exceeding forty-nine years. For this period the rights of ownership of buildings as enumerated in the previous paragraph are granted.

3. The right of ownership of movable property contained in factories, trade and industrial enterprises which may be in private possession, various tools and means of production, products of agriculture and industry, goods not excluded from private circulation by special regulations, monetary capital, household objects, and objects of personal use.

NOTE. Requisition of properties enumerated in Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the present decree with reimbursement for the seized properties according to the current market prices, as well as confiscation of such property, may be applied only in such cases as are established by the law.

4. The right of mortgaging and pledging properties enumerated in Paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 of the present decision.

5. The ownership right to inventions, authors' rights, right to trade-marks, industrial models, and drawings within the limits defined by special laws.

6. The right to inheritance according to the law is granted to either party to a marriage and to the direct descendants, the total value of the inheritance not to exceed 10,000 gold rubles.

B. The Right to Contract Obligations

7. The right to conclude all kinds of agreements not forbidden by the law, such as agreements pertaining to leasing property, buying and selling, exchange, loans, borrowing, contracting, vouching, insurance, corporations, notes, all kinds of banking credit agreements. Such agreements have legal power and may claim protection in the courts if they comply with the general principles laid down in the following articles:

(a) All kinds of agreements not forbidden by the law, concluded (1) by government agencies and persons within the limits of their legal rights, (2) by accountable citizens, and (3) by juridical persons recognized by the law within the limits defined by their charters, are obligatory for the parties concluding the agreements, and the parties have the right of legal protection in matters arising from the provisions of the agreement.

NOTE. If the agreement contains a clause by which one party forfeits its right of protection, such clause is invalid.

(b) An agreement is invalid if it is concluded (1) by a legally incompetent person, or (2) with an illegal purpose, or (3) if it is an agreement transferring the right to objects which have been excluded from general circulation, or (4) if it does not comply with the rules and regulations established by the law for the validity of an agreement, or (5) if it is clearly harmful to the interests of the state.

(c) In the following cases the courts may rule, upon the demand of one of the parties, an agreement to be invalid completely or in part (1) if the party entered into the agreement under the influence of fraud, threats, violence, or as a result of a criminal conspiracy between its representative and the other party, (2) if the party entered the agreement as a result of a misunderstanding of an actual nature.

In any cases where one party has taken advantage of the extreme need of the other party in order to exploit the latter by an agreement, the court may, upon the demand of the injured party or of government agencies, either declare the agreement invalid or stop the application of the agreement in the future.

III. The rights enumerated in Paragraphs 1-7 are also granted to juridical persons recognized by the law, such as labor and cooperative organizations, all kinds of corporations and registered companies, government institutions and enterprises within the limits provided by their charters or by the regulations.

NOTE 1. Foreign corporations (limited), companies, etc., receive the rights of a juridical person within the RSFSR only upon the permission of the government agencies empowered for this purpose by the Council of People's Commissars.

NOTE 2. Foreign juridical persons which have not been permitted to carry on operations within the RSFSR may enjoy the right to the protection of the courts of the RSFSR upon claims originated outside of the RSFSR and addressed to defendants living within its borders only upon the basis of reciprocity.

IV. Disputes are to be disposed of in the courts.

V. The present decision has no retroactive power and it grants no right to former owners whose property has been expropriated on the basis of the revolutionary law prior to the publication of the present decision, to demand the return of their property.

VI. On the basis of the present decision the All-Russian Central Executive Committee commissions the Praesidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars to prepare corresponding laws and introduce at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee a project of the Code of Civil Laws of the RSFSR.

The Irish Republic Speaks

ON the two pages following we are printing small replicas of two issues of an Irish republican paper which has appeared regularly as a war news bulletin during the recent fighting. Dated in the "Seventh Year of the Republic" and printed on one side of a large sheet of paper, yellow or pink or white, this little publication bitterly arraigns all enemies of the Irish Republic, British or Free State, and encourages the Irregulars. Other issues carry communiques and proclamations from Republican leaders.

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WAR NEWS No. 3.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1922. SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC. PRICE ONE PENNY.

RALLY TO THE FLAG.

It is War.

Who began the War? His Majesty's Free State Ministers.

Whom are they attacking? Their own brother Irishmen of the Irish Republican Army.

Why did they begin to attack? Because Lloyd George and Churchill told them they must.

Who are their Allies in the War? The English.

What are their weapons in the War? *Artillery, machine guns, rifles, etc.*, supplied by the English.

What is their object in the War? To destroy the Irish Republic and make you swear Allegiance to the King of England as King of Ireland.

PEOPLE OF IRELAND, WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON IN THE WAR? THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE ANSWER. YOU ARE ON THE SIDE OF IRELAND.

EAMON DE VALERA.

EAMON DE VALERA IS ON ACTIVE SERVICE WITH THE DUBLIN BRIGADE, FIGHTING FOR THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

MACREADY WITH THE P. G.?

WE HEAR ON THE BEST AUTHORITY THAT GENERAL MACREADY IS WITH THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ADVISING ON THE CAMPAIGN.

FOUR COURTS REPORTS.

The Four Courts Publicity Department has issued the following, dated June 29th, 1922:—

All Well at the Four Courts.

The effort to make British subjects out of Irish Republicans by force of arms continues to fail. It was doomed to failure from the beginning, for the spirit that has carried the cause of the Irish Republic through the last terrible six years *is not to be seduced at the bidding of the latest upholders of the system of civilisation* peculiar to the English Empire.

The attack on the Four Courts, General Headquarters of the Irish Republican Army, is a complete failure; the Four Courts continues to stand, and will do so as long as there is a single soldier of the Republic left who remains true to his oath to maintain and defend the independence of Ireland.

Despite the continuous heavy gun and rifle fire, the defences of the Four Courts are intact.

The number of casualties are negligible, and consist of wounded only. We have none killed.

Hospital Fired On.

Last night between twelve and one o'clock a cessation of hostilities was arranged to enable the removal of wounded from the Four Courts to hospital. The Chief of Staff of the Army of the so-called Provisional Government would only agree to their removal on condition that they would be considered prisoners *and kept in a military hospital. To this the Republican Authorities could not* agree, so the wounded still lie in the Four Courts Hospital. This hospital has come under fire several times.

When this fact was pointed out to the officer in charge of the Provisional Government's attacking party, he undertook to respect the Geneva Cross if it were prominently displayed on hospital buildings.

This undertaking was not kept. Within an hour after it was given the large gas lamp bearing the Red Cross that marks out the hospital was made the deliberate target of the Provisional Government's snipers. Before long the lamp was wrecked, the light put out, and the Red Cross no longer visible.

Cant and Hypocrisy.

Elsewhere in the city the Volunteers are holding their own, and wearing down the aggression of Churchill's pets. The situation is crystallising quickly. The hypocrisy and cant of those who claim that the way to the Republic is through the Free State is at last laid bare. What they mean is that the way to *kill the Republic is to kill the Republicans.*

Co-operation of British Troops.

Will the Dail Publicity Department or the "Free State" Press of the country deny these facts?

1. That the British Forces co-operated with the Free State troops in Upper King Street at midday yesterday, the 28th instant.
   And in Stephen's Green and South Great George's Street from 9 to 12 p.m.
2. That a column of empty lorries was escorted on the same day by one Free State armoured car, a lorry of armed British soldiers, and one British armoured car.
3. Ten armoured tenders of R.I.C. arrived at the Castle at 4 p.m., and were handed over to Free State officers.

Church Towers as Sniping Posts.

The Free Staters are using the Tower of St. Michan's Protestant Church, and the Protestant Medical Mission as **sniping posts** against the soldiers of the *Irish Republic. Is this in accordance with civilised warfare; if not, will the Irish* people tolerate it?

WHERE THE FREE STATE GUNS AND ARMOURED CARS COME FROM.

Winston Churchill in the British Parliament on June 28th—

"They (the Provisional Government) have declined all assistance from the Imperial Forces EXCEPT SO FAR AS EQUIPMENT IS CONCERNED."

"Equipment" includes artillery, armoured cars, lorries, motor cars, petrol, motor cycles, machine guns, rifles, bombs, revolvers, ammunition of all sorts, signalling apparatus, and all kinds of military stores.

In spite of what Churchill says, British officers and men have been assisting too.

To The FREE STATE SOLDIERS

King George has been advised to disband his Royal Dublin Fusiliers, Royal Munster Fusiliers, Connaught Rangers, and other Regiments composed of Irishmen because they could not be reliable in operations against their fellow-countrymen. These men swore allegiance to King George.

He has a good substitute in the new Royal Irish Republican Army of Beggar's Bush, who are not so squeamish. They swore allegiance to the Irish Republic. They wear the uniform of Padraig Pearse's Volunteers. They take their orders via Beggar's Bush from Winston Churchill.

Misguided Irishmen, are you willing to become the new Royal Irish Constabulary?

PRESS CENSORSHIP.

The Free State Government is censoring the Daily Press and forbidding it to publish any Republican war news or any Republican proclamations or reports.

The Daily Press is for England and the Free State. Don't trust a word it says.

DECEIVING THE WORLD.

MICHAEL COLLINS ON THE WAR.

Michael Collins has issued a statement to America and the World.

It is in the style of Maxwell, Greenwood, French, and Macready, and it is grossly untruthful.

He says the troops are "taking measures to protect the life and property of the citizens and to disperse unauthorised and irregular assemblies."

Just what French and Greenwood said. Just what the English always said.

Michael Collins also said:

"At the recent General Election the people of Ireland gave us, by the huge majority of four to one, a very definite mandate to maintain the situation created by the Treaty."

Collins and his party have no mandate. The Election was fought on a rotten register four years old. Most of the young men who fought the War of Independence were disfranchised, and all the young women.

Collins, as leader of the Free State Party, made an Agreement with De Valera and the Republicans that **the Treaty should not be the issue at the Election,** and that as far as lay within his power the former Deputies of the Dail, forming the National Agreed Panel, should be returned.

He broke that pledge, and on the very day of the Election advised voters to vote as they pleased.

CORRECTION.

In some copies of our issue of the 29th three names were by error omitted from list of those I.R.A. officers who signed the Proclamation which appeared in that issue. They were:—

Gen. Liam Lynch.

Commdt.-Gen. Liam Deasey.

Col. Commdt. Peadar O'Donnell.

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WAR NEWS No. 5.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 1 Seventh Year of the Republic PRICE ONE PENNY

THE FIGHT GOES ON

ARMY NEWS: OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUES

1. The 1st Southern on the Offensive

June 30th, 10 a.m.

The following seven positions held by Free State Forces within the area of the 1st Southern Division are at present being attacked by the I.R.A.:—

(a) Listowel.
(b) Foynes.
(c) Skibbereen.
(d) and (e) Abbeyfeale (two).
(f) Newcastle West.
(g) Broadford.

A hundred men are holding the line—Charleville to the Shannon.

When these seven positions are captured the Free State Forces will not hold a single position in the area of the 1st Southern Division.

The 1st Southern Division has taken over the "Cork Examiner."

The road from Cork to Dublin is clear.

2. The Loss of the Four Courts

Acting on a plan communicated to the O/C Four Courts early this morning, the relieving troops had worked their way through the investing lines to a predetermined objective, from which the garrison could have been relieved. The projected operation failed of completion owing to the premature explosion of a mine, which left the defenders in a hopeless position, and compelled the relieving force, already within the investing lines, to retreat. This was effected without loss of men or material.

When the failure of this operation came to the knowledge of the O/C Dublin Brigade, and it was clear that there was no prospect of relieving the garrison before the fires in the Four Courts reached the numerous mines and large quantities of explosive material stored in the buildings, the O/C Dublin, as the Senior Officer operating in Dublin in defence of the Republic, sent the following despatch, addressed to the Acting Chief of Staff, Four Courts:—

"I have gone into the whole situation re your position, and have studied the same very carefully, and I have come to the following conclusion: To help me to carry on the fight outside you must surrender forthwith. *I would be unable to fight my way through to you even at terrific sacrifice.* I am expecting reinforcements at any moment.

If the Republic is to be saved your surrender is a necessity.

As Senior Officer outside I take it that I am entitled to order you to make a move which places me in a better military position. This order must be carried out without discussion. I take full responsibility.

(Signed)
O. Traynor,
O/C Dublin."

The bearer of this despatch, having reached the Four Courts, the Staff of the I.R.A. and their men accepted the decision of the O/C Dublin Brigade, and reversed their intention to hold the position to the last. Accordingly they marched out under a flag of truce and surrendered.

Prior to the surrender and to the receipt of the communication from the O/C Dublin Brigade the I.R.A. garrison had sent all women and other non-combatants out of the position. The wounded had also been evacuated.

The total number of casualties on the part of the I.R.A. amounted to seven wounded. Some of the wounds are of a slight nature.

It is hoped to be able to obtain and publish full details of the fight in the Four Courts since the attack by the Provisional Government Forces opened on Wednesday morning last. The reading of this should furnish a thrilling description of one of the finest fights for any position in the long struggle for Ireland's independence.

Thus ends the first engagement of the war begun by what Mr. Collins styles "my Government"—that is, the Provisional Government. The so-called Dail troops are clearly acting on Mr. Collins' authority as Chairman of the Provisional Government, and not on behalf of Dail Eireann.

3. Escape of Six Prisoners

The Four Courts prisoners have been removed from Jameson's Distillery to Mountjoy. Six have escaped.

To the Free State Soldiers

The Anglo-Irish war is not over: the latest of the battles of seven centuries is being fought in the streets of Dublin to-day.

England's threat of war as the alternative to the surrender of the Republic is being carried out—carried out for her by Irishmen.

England's victory will be complete when the last Irish Republican is dead—not before.

The Battle of the Four Courts

The holding of the Four Courts by Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, and their gallant comrades for three days through a hell of fire from British guns and overwhelming Free State forces is an inspiration for upholders of the Republic.

The renegade Free Staters, if they have shame left in them, should be covered with shame at this ignoble "victory." What a "victory"! Won under British direction with British help and by British instigation, to achieve Britain's purpose of forcing her rule upon Ireland and destroying our Independence.

Generations of Irishmen to come will point the finger of scorn at those who won the Battle of the Four Courts.

The Crack of the Whip

MORE LIGHT ON THE BRITISH ORDERS FOR WAR.

Pressure was brought to bear by the British upon the Free State Government with regard to the question of the Four Courts at least as early as June 23rd.

The "Manchester Guardian" of June 24th published the following paragraph, headed "Irregulars' Refusal to Leave Four Courts: Military Conference in Dublin:—

"A Conference was held in Dublin yesterday, at which Mr. Griffith, Mr. Cope (Assistant Under Secretary), Major-Gen. Dalton, of the I.R.A., and two British military officers were present, to consider the continued occupation of the Four Courts by the Irregulars under Gen. Rory O'Connor. The proceedings were secret."

This paragraph, which came from a British source, was censored out of the Irish Press, which only contained the bare statement that representatives of the British and Provisional Governments had conferred.

Three days later, the 26th, came the speeches of Lloyd George and Churchill in the House of Commons, saying that communications had been sent to the Provisional Government insisting on "speedy and immediate" action.

On Tuesday night, the 27th, the attack on the Four Courts was begun.

Reports of Surgeons to Officer Commanding Four Courts

Oglaigh na h-Eireann,
G.H.Q., Dublin,
Four Courts,
28/6/'22.

To O.C., Barracks.

I beg to report that our Barrack Hospital was to-day subjected to continuous rifle-fire and periodical shell-fire, and even during a serious operation I was forced to stop and have the position of the operating table changed owing to a rifle bullet having passed through the hospital window close behind my head. I was later forced to evacuate the hospital altogether and establish a substitute hospital in a very unsuitable place in the basement.

Our Red Cross flag and signs were, of course, prominently displayed on the original hospital, and some of them were riddled with bullets. Our flag still flies on that hospital, as the window from which it was suspended was frequently perforated.

(Signed)
Surgeon in Charge.

P.S. 29th June—A gas lamp in front of the new hospital, placed in position last night, on which Red Cross signs were placed, was found to have all its signs and glass shot away this morning.

(Signed).
Surgeon in Charge.

Four Courts, 29/6/'22.

To O.C. Barracks.

A Chara—I beg to report that, while passing in the open to-day, at about 11.15 a.m., I was fired at by Free State troops from the Bridewell. At the time I was wearing a white medical coat on which were three large red crosses, and was proceeding to bring in a wounded soldier of No. 3 Post.

On the return journey, while I was aiding the wounded man to come in, I was again subjected to rifle fire from the same direction, and was forced to put down the wounded man, who had then to crawl in, though bleeding profusely, and his life was seriously endangered by this proceeding.

(Signed)
M.O. Barracks.

Latest Intelligence

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd Western Divisions are attacking Free State posts. Also the 1st and 2nd Northern Divisions.

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An Anti-Putsch Law

THE original text of the special Law for the Protection of the Republic, drawn up upon the assassination of Dr. Rathenau, was printed in full in the *Kölnische Zeitung* for July 5, 1922:

I. Provisions for the Protection of the Republic

Article 1. Persons belonging to a society among the purposes of which they know to be the murder of a member of an existing or former republican government of the empire or of a federal state shall be punished with death or lifelong imprisonment in the penitentiary. Persons who, knowing the aforementioned purposes, support such a society will be punished in the same way.

Other persons who know of the existence of such a society shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary except when mitigating circumstances exist, if they fail immediately to inform the authorities or the person threatened of the existence of the society, of the members known to them and of their whereabouts.

Art. 2. Imprisonment of not less than three months nor more than five years, to which a fine not to exceed 5,000,000 marks may be added in cases where other provisions do not provide severer punishment, shall be imposed upon any person (1) who publicly lauds or specifically approves acts of violence against the constitutional republican form of the empire or of a federal state or against members of an existing or former republican government of the empire or of a federal state, or who rewards such acts of violence or countenances the principals or participators in such acts, or who slanders or publicly abuses deceased members of such a government who have fallen as victims of such violence; (2) who invites or incites to acts of violence against members of an existing or former republican government of the empire or of a federal state, or who arranges with another for such acts; (3) who slanders or publicly abuses members of the existing republican government of the empire or of a federal state, or, for their conduct in office, members of a former republican government of the empire or of a federal state; (4) who publicly abuses the constitutional republican form of the empire or of a federal state or the imperial or state colors; (5) who participates in a society such as is described in Section 128 and Section 129 of the criminal code or supports such a society if the society has as its purpose to put an end to the constitutional republican form of the empire or of a federal state.

In particularly serious cases the punishment shall be imprisonment in the penitentiary. If cases falling under (3) above are public or accompanied by distribution of writings, diagrams, or pictures, Section 200 of the criminal code shall apply.

Art. 3. A fine may be added to any conviction for a crime under Section 1 of this law or for an act of violence against the constitutional republican form of the empire or of a federal state or for preparations for such an act, if such a form of punishment seems likely to prevent further acts of high treason on the part of the condemned. The amount of the fine is not limited. In such cases residence in particular regions of the empire or in particular places may be forbidden to the condemned for a period not to exceed five years. Foreigners may be expelled from the territory of the empire. Contraventions may be punished with imprisonment.

Art. 4. In addition to conviction for one of the acts designated as criminal in Articles 1, 2, and 3 of this section the guilty person may be condemned to loss of any public office held by him or rights arising from a public election, and members of the army may be dismissed from the service. Ineligibility for public office may be declared, either permanent or temporary. Retired officials of the civil service and members of the army may be condemned to complete or partial loss of their retirement pensions. The loss may be made temporary.

II. Special Courts for the Protection of the Republic

Art. 5. In connection with the Imperial Court a Special Court for the Protection of the Republic (*Staatsgerichtshof zum Schutze der Republik*) shall be established. This court will have seven members. Apart from the principal proceedings the decision may be made by three members of whom one, at least, must be a member of the Imperial Court. The members shall be named by the President of the empire for the duration of this law. Three shall be members of the Imperial Court. The other four members need not belong to the judiciary. Alternates shall be named for the ordinary members. The Imperial Ministers of Justice shall, with the consent of the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*), make the necessary additions to the regulations. The Imperial prosecuting attorneys shall function as usual. Accordingly, Paragraph 147, Section 2, and Paragraph 153 of the Judicial Regulations are valid. The regulations for criminal proceedings are also valid. The Imperial Minister of Justice may, with the consent of the Imperial Council, make special rules. The legal provisions regarding publicity and oral procedure in the main hearings, arrest, defense, treatment of absentees, rules of evidence, and the provisions of Paragraph 262 of the regulations for criminal proceedings shall not be altered to the disadvantage of the accused. There is no appeal from the decisions of the Special Court.

Art. 6. The Special Court may transfer any investigations made under it to the ordinary courts upon the request of the prosecuting authorities. These provisions apply also to cases opened before this law enters into effect. If a verdict has already been given which is subject to revision, then the ordinary courts decide upon the revision.

III. Forbidden Societies

Art. 7. Meetings, parades, and proclamations may be forbidden if there is reason to fear that they may lead to the acts designated as criminal in Paragraphs 1, 2, or 3. Societies in which such acts take place, or which carry on such activities, or which agitate for a particular person as candidate to the throne may be forbidden and dissolved.

Art. 8. The central authorities of the federal states or authorities designated by them shall carry out the measures referred to in Article 7. The Imperial Minister of the Interior may request the central authorities of the federal states to undertake such measures. If the central authorities of the federal state believe that they cannot agree to such a request they shall so inform the Imperial Minister of the Interior not later than the second day after the receipt of the request, and shall appeal at the same time for the decision of the Special Court; and if this court decides for such measures, then the central authorities of the state shall immediately inaugurate them. Within two weeks from the date of the notification or publication of a proceeding under Article 7, complaint may be made but it shall not delay the procedure. The complaint shall be submitted to the central authorities of the federal state. They may decide upon it except in cases coming under Article 2. Otherwise they shall immediately lay the complaint before the Special Court for its decision. If the central authorities of the federal state decide that the complaint is justified the Imperial Minister of the Interior may still appeal to the decision of the Special Court. The proceedings before the Special Court shall be regulated by the Imperial Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the Imperial Council.

Art. 9. Any person arranging meetings, parades, or demonstrations forbidden by Article 7 or appearing in such as a speaker shall be punished by imprisonment of not less than three months or more than five years, to which may be added a fine not exceeding 500,000 marks. And any person belonging to a society dissolved in accordance with the second sentence of Article 7 shall be punished in the same manner.

IV. Seizure and Prohibition of Printed Matter

Art. 10. The provisions of the press law of May 7, 1874, regarding the seizure of printed matter are valid also in the cases designated as criminal in Paragraph 2 of this law, with the

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limitation that the state's attorney shall have the right to an appeal postponing execution of a decision stopping seizure.

ART. 11. If the contents of a periodical publication justify action under Articles 1, 2, and 3, the appearance of the periodical may be prohibited for four weeks if it is a daily paper, and in other cases for a period not to exceed six months. The provisions of Paragraph 8 shall apply in this case. This prohibition shall include any supposedly new publication which is essentially a continuation of the old.

ART. 12. Any person publishing, printing, or distributing a periodical prohibited in accordance with Article 11 shall be punished with imprisonment of not less than three months nor more than five years, to which may be added a fine not exceeding 500,000 marks.

V. MEMBERS OF FORMER RULING FAMILIES

ART. 13. Members of families, a member of which ruled over a former German federal state up to November, 1918, may, by decision of the Imperial Government, be expelled from the territory of the empire if they are convicted for one of the acts designated as criminal in Articles 1, 2, and 3.

ART. 14. Members of families, a member of which ruled over a former German federal state up to November, 1918, if they have their residence or permanent residing place abroad, may enter the territory of the empire only with permission of the Imperial Government, and if they violate this provision they may be expelled from the territory of the empire by the decision of the Imperial Government.

VI. FINAL PROVISIONS

ART. 15. Members of republican governments of the empire and of the federal states within the meaning of this law include: the Imperial President, and all members of ministries which are or were responsible to a parliamentary body elected by general, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.

ART. 16. Germans and foreigners may be proceeded against for crimes committed under Articles 1, 2, and 3 if these crimes were committed abroad. This law enters into effect upon proclamation. It shall be valid for five years.

Contributors to This Issue

JOHN E. KELLY is an engineer and member of a family prominently associated in this country with the movement for Irish independence.

BEULAH AMIDON RATLIFF, a contributor to current periodicals, was until recently a resident of Mississippi. She married a Mississippian and spent several years in that State.

GEORGE VAIL is a professional musician and a writer for musical magazines. Several years ago, while directing the orchestra at the Palace Theater in Washington, he drew the plans for an instrument to control the lighting effects required in "color overtures," but lack of interest in the project caused its abandonment.

Oswald Garrison Villard's

fourth article in his series on Germany, describing some of the more hopeful aspects of the present situation, will appear in **The Nation** next week. It will be followed by articles based on his observations in Poland, the Balkans, and the Succession States.

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Commandment I

"I Am Jehovah Thy God"

Exodus, xx:2.

אנכי יהוה אלהיך

or

Jehovah is the God Americanism the Religion

Both religious and scientific fanatics claim that, whereas we are highly civilized, we have therefore no more use for the antiquated Ten Commandments. If this be true, then why have municipal, state and federal legislatures? Is not every law passed by modern legislatures due to the fact that the evils of stealing, killing, etc., are astoundingly prevalent among us civilized ones?

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